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Inter-Personal Relations*

Volume VIII

MAY, 1945

Number 2

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GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

SOCIOMETRY, AUGUST-NOVEMBER ISSUE
VOLUME 8, NUMBER 3 AND 4 COMBINED

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SOCIOMETRY, COMTISM AND MARXISM*

J. L. MORENO

Sociometric Institute, New York City

A century ago, August Comte had finished his great work "Cours de Philosophie Positive" (1830-42) and Karl Marx had formulated in "The Theses on Feuerbach" (1845) his famous theory of social revolution. The originator of sociology tried to give the new science a permanent foundation by developing a world-embracing theoretical system which should be gradually substantiated. To the founder of scientific socialism, however, a world-wide "view" of society, its "fanciful circumscription and fixation" did not seem sufficient. He stirred up a world-wide mass *action*, a social revolution, hoping that this would not only change the structure of human society, but perhaps also substantially increase our knowledge of its nature. Sociometry, one hundred years later, has formulated a position which is now widely accepted. It is related to the system of Comte by acknowledging the methods of observation and experimental verification as indispensable to objective research. He assumed that these methods will gain the same astounding results for the social sciences which they have had for the physical sciences. It is in this point that Comte made his greatest methodical error. Sociometric studies have demonstrated that objective research and guidance of human relations cannot be obtained in many cases without the aid of *action*, *participation* and *realization* techniques.

Sociometry is related to the system of Marx by considering his theory of practice and his theory of change as of the utmost importance to the methodology of all social sciences. The Marx of "The Civil War in France", the practical-critical analyst of a social revolution in process, is greatly obscured by Marx, the analyst of political economy. He would probably have consented to the sociometric notion—that some degree of practical involvement in an actual situation animates the participants to make choices and decisions more akin to their present needs than otherwise and thus in a by-play, revealing to the investigator their individual and collective experience. He would have well appreciated the catalyzing value of action techniques in psychodramatic procedure, the "warming up to an act," and the realization techniques in sociometric testing, the giving to the subjects

*This is the first of three articles comprising a study in sociometric method. It will be followed by "Experimental Sociometry and Experimental Sociology,"—"Social Revolutions and a Theory of Sociometric Revolution."

some degree of realization of choices and aims in order to facilitate action research and clarify their spontaneous response.

The sociometrist disagrees with both Comte and Marx in the fundamental direction of approach to the human situation. They are both *macro*-sociologists, Comte in the way of theoretical totalism, Marx in the way of revolutionary-action-totalism. Sociometry, without however giving up the vision of totality by an inch, has retreated from the maximum to the minimum, to the social atoms and molecules. As I wrote several years ago in "Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences":¹ ". . . From the sociometric angle the totalism of the neo-Marxists appears as flat and unrealistic as the totalism of Hegel appeared to Marx. Compared with the *élan* of the totalistic schools of thought, sociometric effort may seem narrow. Instead of analyzing social classes composed of millions of people, we are making painstaking analyses of small groups of persons. It is a retreat from the social universe to its *atomic* structure. In the course of time, through the cooperative efforts of many workers, a total view of human society will result again, but it will be better founded. This may be a deep fall after so much dialectic conceit, but it is a strategic retreat, a retreat to greater objectivity. These large generalizations encourage *pseudo*-totalistic views of the social universe. . . . The basic social and psychological structure of the group remains a *mythological* product of their own mind, a mythology which is just as much a barrier to the progress from an old to a new social order as the fetish of merchandise was before Marx's analysis of it. The dialectical and political totalists have reached a dead-end. A true advance in political theory cannot crystalize until more concrete sociometric knowledge of the basic structure of groups is secured. . . ."

Sociometry can therefore be called a *micro*sociology, a sociology of the microscopic dynamic events, regardless of the size of the social group to which it is applied, small or large. The result of the sociometric development has been that the investigation of the smallest social aggregates has become more interesting than the large ones; and that pint-size revolutions, for instance social changes produced in a classroom, have become more interesting than efforts at a world-wide revolution. It has developed methods by whose means it is possible to deal with current events and immediate situations positively and directly without falling into the scylla of political socialism (Marx), or in the charybdis of utopian reformism (Comte).²

There is another angle in the relation of sociometric practice to social-revolutionary practice. The social revolutionist does not wait for the

¹Sociometry, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 214-217, 1937.

"event" to happen. He fears delay of the uprising of the masses or even that this may never happen and so he *produces* it by instigating and arousing them (and he calls this process the "will" of the masses). Therefore, up to a certain point the social revolutionist creates the atmosphere of a sociometric experiment, he turns the collective life situation—where it is, in situ—into a social laboratory. But in the social analysis following the revolutionary event it becomes clear that the revolutionary operation is carried out in the dark, the inter-individual and sociodynamic structure of the mass involved in the action is unknown except for certain ideological premises and the role structure on the surface—certain key individuals in the "role" of the laborer versus others in the "role" of the capitalist.

The difficulty of the purely-at-a-distance investigator, of the passivist (Comte), is that he and his subjects are never *in* the situation, it is, so to speak, transcendental to him, thus he does a lot of guessing as to what it represents. The danger of the Marxist actionist, on the other hand, is that when he instigates and arouses the masses he may stir them up to *more* action than they are spontaneously inclined to and to more than he can eventually control. The result is that not only the revolutionary gains (if there are any) are of doubtful value—he does not know when a relapse or a regression to a pre-revolutionary or worse state might take place, but also the social analysis itself is bound to be faulty and full of indissoluble implications because he did not know when the revolutionary action was started, what structure the mass had in statu nascendi and the specific dynamic factors operating within it.

It is astonishing how slowly human thought progresses. It took the moral learnings of several social revolutions, the theoretical preparation and fifty years of pioneering of men like Simmel, Cooley and others, before the scene was set for procedures as simple as the sociometric test.

²For the future development of sociometry it may be desirable to separate it as a special discipline and to consider it as a *microscopic and microdynamic science underlying all social sciences*. In the biological sciences microscopic disciplines as histology, chemistry, have been similarly differentiated from macrobiological sciences as anatomy or genetics, and this has happened to the greatest advantage of each sister science. The debate on this point is still open. Burgess, Chapin and Znaniecki consider sociometry as a sub-division of sociology, whereas Dodd and Lundberg tend towards division rather than amalgamation. See E. W. Burgess, "Sociological Research Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. L, No. 6, May 1945; F. Stuart Chapin, "The Relation of Sociometry to Planning in an Expanding Social Universe," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 3, August 1944; Florian Znaniecki, "Controversies in Doctrine and Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. L, No. 6, May 1945; Stuart C. Dodd, "Sociometry Delimited," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 3, August 1944; and George A. Lundberg, "The Growth of Scientific Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. L, No. 6, May 1945.

HOW RUSSIA WILL LOOK 25 YEARS FROM NOW

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

Dr. J. L. Moreno suggested to me to answer two dangerous questions on Russia. First, did I anticipate 25 years ago the present development of Soviet Russia; second, how Soviet Russia will look 25 years from now. Fully realizing the hazards involved in such a retrospect and prospect, here are my answers.

I. As to the anticipations the following records outline their essentials: A. At the very beginning of the revolution when it was glorified for its bloodlessness and constructive moderation, some six months before the Communist overthrow of the Kerensky regime, in my paper: *The Crisis of the Russian Nation*, published April 30th, 1917, in the *Volia Naroda*, I foretold the coming extremization of the revolution, its bloodiest terror and civil war, anarchy and apocalyptic destructiveness, millions of victims and other dire consequences of its "progress." My predictions were at such a great variance with the prevalent optimism that the paper had an effect of a bomb shell.¹ From the Communist to the Liberal factions I was assailed for my "morbid pessimism." (Just as later on, in the twentieths and thirtieths, before and after the publication of my *Dynamics* (1937), I was denounced for my diagnosis of the crisis of our age, for my predictions of the coming war, revolutions, impoverishment, chaos and so on by my "competent" critics.) In both cases all the predicted calamities have come to pass with the destruction and legions of victims greatly exceeding my expectations.

B. Living amidst the Revolution and witnessing as an actor and participant observer the gigantic destruction, disintegration of Russia, anti-sociality, superhuman sufferings of the people, of which the outsiders did not have a slightest idea, already in 1921, when the catastrophe was at its climax, I made the following diagnosis.

"Many times during these years (1917-21) I wondered as to whether the mortal hour of Russia did not strike . . . Now I clearly see it did not. The sick nation is recovering; the crisis is passing. And not the road of death but of great life is opening before the Russian nation."²

¹See on this E. Sisson, *One Hundred Red Days* (Yale University Press, 1931), pp. 45-49. Also B. Sorokin, *Leaves From a Russian Diary* (New York, 1924).

²P. Sorokin, *Sovremennoie sostoianie Rossii* (Contemporary Situation of Russia) (Prague, 1922), p. 107.

Besides the first symptoms of recovery discernible only to an attentive observer, the diagnosis was based upon the theory of the destructive and constructive phases through which "the revolutions of childbearing nature" pass in contrast to those of "the mortal agony." Acquainted with it from the works of Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and especially from those of H. Taine, A. de Tocqueville, and C. A. Ellwood, I carefully tested it in the laboratory of the Revolution and found it essentially valid. The results of this test were published by me in 1921-22, in two papers in Russia, in the quoted book on the *Contemporary Situation of Russia* and were developed in my book: *Sociology of Revolution* which was published in English in 1925. According to this theory the Russian revolution, like other "child-bearing revolutions," destroys only the values, institutions and trends that were moribund before the revolution. The institutions, values and trends that are full of life and creativity, temporarily suppressed in the destructive phase of the revolution, in a due time revive, grow and successfully continue their pre-revolutionary trend. With their re-emergence and growth the destructive phase declines and is replaced by the constructive phase of the return of the revolution to these living and creative pre-revolutionary trends, values and institutions. In 1921 the first symptoms of the decline of the destructive phase and of the re-emergence of the living pre-revolutionary trends already appeared. Hence my optimistic diagnosis. In an unfolded form it meant an anticipation of all the main lines of the development of Russia after 1921.

First, a rapid industrialization and urbanization because such a trend existed before the Revolution: in the period of 1900-1914 the industrial output of Russia quadrupled and only the United States outstripped Russia in the tempo of industrial development. The subsequent "five-year plans" were not surprising for me for an additional reason: their blueprints were made under the Czarist government; during the Kerensky regime I had these plans in my own hands and attended the meetings of a special committee in charge of the realization of these plans. As a matter of fact the most important members of this committee were later on among the persons who started these plans under the Soviet regime.

Second, I expected a revival of Russian military forces and knew factually of the first strenuous efforts of the Soviet government to rebuild the Russian army. Contrary to an utterly wrong popular opinion abroad, the Russian army has been, throughout the history of Russia, the first class army. Without a strong military organization the Russian nation could neither survive nor grow. Situated in a vast plain open to incessant invasions from

Asia and Europe and incessantly invaded Russia was forced to create an excellent military force and indeed created it early in her history. Even the weakened Czarist army of 1914-17 stopped the German armies at the present Curzon line and invaded in turn a considerable portion of Austria. In this light the performance of the Red army in this war has been not an exceptional but perfectly normal performance of the Russian armies throughout the history of Russia. Likewise the present elevation of Russia to the rank of the great power is not something that happened for the first time but is a mere return to the status of the great power Russia had during the last two centuries.

Similarly I expected and predicted the re-birth of the Russian Orthodox Church and religion; the re-enthronement of the great Russian religious, ethical, political, scientific, literary, artistic and other cultural values and of their creators, slandered, prohibited and persecuted in the first period of the revolution. Not surprising at all was for me the development of the collective farms because they are again a remodeled old Russian institution of *mir* and *obtschina*. The same is true of the equality of races and nationalities because Russia hardly knew any racial and national discrimination before the revolution (there was a discrimination on religious grounds); of a rapid progress of literacy which, according to the law of the Duma passed a few years before the revolution, had to become universal in 1919 and which was growing very rapidly in the twentieth century; of the enormous expansion of the governmental regimentation of the Soviet regime because any great social emergency has always called forth such an expansion and has led to the *etatistique* regime of the nation.

In brief, already in 1921-22 I anticipated the broad lines of economic, political, cultural and institutional development of Russia. On the other hand, I did not and could not foresee many details, secondary characteristics, tempo and various "twists" of this development. (The same is true of my anticipation of the present war, revolts, calamities, changes in cultural values, institutions and man's mentality and conduct, formulated in my *Social Mobility*, and especially in *Dynamics*. The broad lines of all these changes were predicted clearly and accurately; they have come to pass and are passing according to the prognosis. The details, "twists," tempo and other secondary traits of the decline of the Sensate era were not and could not be predicted).

II. As to how Russia will look 25 years from now, I assume that during this period there will be no third world war (it probably will come

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somewhat later). With this assumption the portrait of Russia around 1970 looks to me as follows:

A. *Russian economic system* will remain mainly the economy managed by the government, with the State property on land and factories, but considerably decentralized, technically improved and made more elastic. There will be no place for private "corporation economy" and a modest place for private ownership of mainly the consumers' goods and small scale "means and instruments of production."

In this *etatistique* economy the private initiative with the attendant inequality of remuneration and standard of living will play a greater role than now. The economic inequality will however be limited by securing a decent minimum for all and by prevention of excessive luxury and "conspicuous consumption."

The general plane of living will be considerably higher than it was in 1940. However it will remain below that of the American pre-war standard. The population will be still working hard and far from the conditions of a soft and leisurely life.

Collective system of farming, improved and humanized, will remain the main agricultural system, with a larger margin of individual possession and use of small lots of land, cattle, and other varieties of agricultural values.

The total industrial and agricultural output of Russia will be second only to the United States.

B. *Politically* Russia will remain a federated Union of Soviet Republics, with socio-cultural equality of races and nationalities. It is possible that the Union will be expanded by closer factual ties between the Union and some of the Slavic countries, like Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia. In the international field it will remain the world power and in Europe the dominant power.

Its socio-political and economic structure will be shaping not so much along the line of the Contractual Democratic *Gesellschaft* as much along that of the Familistic *Gemeinschaft*, with an element of paternalistic coercion. From the standpoint of a partisan of a contractual democracy the government of Russia will still look centralized and semi-dictatorial; the amount of freedom of the citizens limited and modest; the whole regime conspicuously coercive. From the standpoint of the members of the Russian Familistic *Gemeinschaft* their government and liberties may be felt perfectly satisfactory, free, and a true government of the people, by the people and for the people. The coercive elements in such a regime will be much smaller than they are now. Two principles will be dominant in the recruit-

ment of governmental, managerial, and upper classes: one is the elective principle by the body of the citizens; the other is the principle: "to everyone according to his ability." The full operation of these principles will be however considerably hindered by the vested interests of the new ruling class, new managerial and economic bureaucracy. In many ways they will try to make their positions "hereditary" and to pass it to their children when they do not deserve it.

C. The family which is even now more stable than in most of the Western countries will remain stable as a union of husband and wife, of parents and children bound together by mutual love, devotion, and help. The rate of divorce and separation will be lower than in most of the Western countries.

D. In spite of appalling losses in human life, suffered in the first World War, in the Revolution, and in the present war, the total amounting to no less than some 40 millions, Russia will rapidly regain her biological balance. The birth-rate will remain very high; the death-rate will gradually decline; the net natural increase of the population will remain the highest in the world. The health, organically satisfactory, will considerably improve with an improvement of conditions and medical progress.

E. Finally the coming decades will witness a remarkable cultural creativity of Russia. Its blossoming will again be but a continuation of a notable cultural renaissance Russia experienced in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Within some ninety years she passed from a culturally backward and imitative country to the position of the world leader in literature and music, theater and ballet, and of an equal to other countries in science and philosophy, in painting and other fields of culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century she produced a galaxy of the first class scientists and inventors, philosophers and artists. In economic, political and cultural fields the development of Russia was so rapid during the century before 1914 that this fastness of the progress was one of the main reasons of the explosion of the revolution itself. If the world war of 1914-17 had not occurred, Russia would have probably made the great turn without the revolution. The first world war upset the unstable and delicate balance of the rapidly developing nation and led to the revolution. The prevalent opinion of the revolutions occurring only in the stagnant countries is utterly wrong in application to all "childbearing revolutions."

This process of cultural creativity was temporarily stopped by the first period of the revolution. Now it re-emerged and is bound to grow. The upheaval of the revolution and the ordeal of the present war have stimu-

lated it considerably. Within the coming decades Russia is going to become the center of a creative religious thought for the Eastern Christianity. Masterpieces of literature and music, painting and theater; important philosophical systems; many first class scientific discoveries in all fields of science, including the social and humanistic disciplines; numerous important technological inventions are going to come from Russia. In the total cultural creativity she will be second to none within the period considered.

The created values will be free, to a considerable extent, from the elements of vulgarity pervading the Sensate culture of our time. In their nature these values will be much less Sensate and materialistic than the Western values of the present time. They will be permeated, to a considerable extent, by what I call Idealistic and Ideational mentality.

Such is the portrait of Russia twenty-five years from now, as I see it. If the third world war explodes within the period considered, the picture will naturally be different from the above. The war will bring to Russia as well as to other countries apocalyptic chaos and destruction. However my guess is that the next quarter of the century will be free from this super-catastrophy.

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR GROUP DYNAMICS
AT
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

KURT LEWIN

Research Center for Group Dynamics

"But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it—the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of Nature into subjection will be required—in even greater measure—to bring under proper control the forces of modern society."

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

The Research Center for Group Dynamics has grown out of two needs or necessities, a scientific and a practical one. Social science needs an integration of psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology into an instrument for studying group life. Modern society demands a deeper understanding and a more efficient and less prejudicial handling of group problems. I am persuaded that this need is particularly acute and particularly essential in a democracy.

I

The scientific need for integrating psychology, cultural anthropology and sociology for studying group life has several sources.

(a) The development of experimental *psychology* from the study of sensation to the study of motivation has heightened the awareness of the importance of social factors for practically all aspects of psychological life. One by one, such topics as goal setting, need conflicts, level of aspiration, play, level of productivity, became accessible to systematic experimentation and to gradually sharpening conceptualization. More and more social aspects—such as friendship, leadership, social atmosphere, social reality, group standards—became involved. Although philosophical prejudice had "proved" the impossibility of controlled experiments with social groups, today, I think, it is fair to say that the possibility of such experiments has been demonstrated. The study of personality and personality development would be condemned to rather limited procedures if it were impossible to study under controlled conditions, for instance, the effect of a leadership position or of social isolation on the conduct and character of a person. Fortunately, such experiments can be carried out; and the related factors can

be recorded and, under certain conditions, measured with the same degree of reliability that is demanded elsewhere in psychology.

Thus, one of the historical sources for the development of group experiments is the need of individual psychology for an experimental study of certain aspects of motivation, of character, and of personality development.

(b) Another source is the recent development of *cultural anthropology*. In the last few years anthropology has turned from specializing in the study of "primitive" cultures to a broad interest in all cultural differences, including differences between "modern" cultures. It has shifted from the classical interest in the artifacts and the institutional aspects of culture toward an attempt to cover all aspects of cultural life. It has turned from cultures with a capital "C" to the more circumscribed cultural realities of smaller groups; even such specific "cultures"¹ as that of Southern Town or of the "business women" may now be accepted as a legitimate subject of investigation. Cultural anthropology has become genetic: it is much aware of the problem of transmission of cultures and the process of acculturation.

On the whole then, cultural anthropology has found more and more contact with problems of sociology and child psychology. Its questions have changed gradually and it seems not at all far-fetched to speak of a need for an experimental cultural anthropology, that is for the experimental creation and experimental changes of ideologies. Some of the more recent experiments, for instance, on leadership training or group atmosphere may be viewed as a step in this direction.²

(c) Finally, the development of *sociology* proper has brought about a state of affairs which seems to demand group experiments. The study of the structure and dynamics of complete social systems, in which the use of existing historical data and statistics compiled by governments and other agencies have played a large part. More recently, data are considered which are obtained by intimate studies of small-scale groups, by recording interaction between their members and investigating typical attitudes of individuals in typical roles.

These descriptive recordings and their statistical treatment are indis-

¹There seems to be a desire among anthropologists to arrive at a more precise definition of "culture". I do not intend to enter this discussion. However, I trust that any definition will have to apply to small as well as large groups if it is to be meaningful from a systematic point of view.

²Experiments in cultural anthropology frequently will have to center around one or the other aspects of culture, in the same way as experiments in individual psychology as a rule do not simultaneously try to deal with all aspects of individual living.

pensable for telling "what is." The crucial questions of social dynamics: what forces are keeping up this type of group life? what type of change would be brought about by what type of action? what forces would resist what changes? under what condition would a change be permanent and when will group living bend quickly back to previous designs?—all these questions of social dynamics demand that experimental procedures in the full meaning of the term are made an integral part of sociology.

II

The urgency of a better understanding of group life for solving the practical day by day problems of modern society needs hardly be elaborated. It is a commonplace that a main source of many disasters in modern society is the discrepancy between our ability to handle physical nature and our lack of ability to handle social forces. World War II most impressively documents the supreme power of man over nature. The amount of effort directed to research indicates the degree to which this power is based on the scientific understanding of nature. The very improvement, however, of the physical aspects of social channels has made our lack of skill in handling social life, and our lack of scientific understanding of social dynamics the more painful and obvious.

On whatever unit of group life we focus: whether we think of nations and international politics; of economic life within a nation and the relation between business groups or between producer and consumer; of race or religious groups and of their relations in the community; of the factory and the relations between top management, the foreman and the worker—at whatever unit we look, we find a complicated network of problems and conflicting interests. Their degree of complication seems to be rivalled only by our lack of clarity about the true nature of the problems. Social action at any level is based to a high degree on opinion and tradition rather than on rational understanding about possible alternatives or on clear foresight about what the effects of different social actions would be.

Most of us have lost our belief in the wisdom of the so-called "practical man" who is guided by the treacherous principle of "past experiences," which encourages keeping up a method even if circumstances have changed. In engineering, this principle has long been replaced by a combination of two principles:

- (a) scientific understanding of the laws of nature;
- (b) a careful diagnosis of all aspects of the situation at hand in a way that permits the application of the general laws.

The engineer has gained flexibility, efficiency, and, therefore, power by placing his belief in this combination of studying the general law and diagnosing the specific situation.

In the field of social management, we are just awakening to the fact that a better knowledge is needed than day by day experience, tradition and memory of an individual or a social group can provide, that we need understanding on a scientific level. A descriptive survey even if it records "trends" has proved not to suffice as a foundation for planning. A governmental official, a factory manager, or any other person in charge of social management of small or large groups, finds that he has to consider intricate interrelations of factors which are usually treated by experts in widely different fields. In order to predict, for instance, the strength of trends toward inflation and for giving suggestions of what to do about it, it is not enough to know the laws of demand and supply; the power relations of groups, the ideology of governing bodies and the value system of every citizen, are equally important factors. For managing a factory it does not suffice to know accounting, or how to set up efficient production lines; the cultural habits of the worker in the district in question, the leadership techniques and the social atmosphere in the factory are not less important. Changing food habits cannot be accomplished by having the nutritional chemist determine the desired calories and vitamin contents, nor even by providing enough money to buy food; one has to take into account cultural habits, status questions, relations within the family, and many other aspects of group life.

We know that all these human factors are closely interwoven with the way our children are brought up in school and family, the way in which grown-ups force them together or keep them separated. This, in turn, depends on the status relations we have in our family, the stereotypes we apply when thinking about our neighbors and the people we select as our policemen. Every aspect of group life is involved: power politics and individual needs for security, religion and education, love and economic dependence, leadership and obedience, character and skills, group relations and production requirements.

III

There are increasing symptoms that leading practitioners in government, in agriculture, in industry, in education, in community life are becoming aware of the fact that a scientific level of understanding is needed, that the statement "nothing is as practical as a good theory" holds also in the field of social management.

In addition, an increasing group of lay people desires clarification of the day by day social problems, not on the basis of opinion, but on the basis of objective insight. Many of us feel that socially we are living in a fog. This feeling exists, for instance, in regard to minority problems where the uncertainty about what might happen or not happen is very great. If our social visibility³ could be increased, if the average citizen could see ahead farther and perceive more clearly, our social climate would change, fear and tension would diminish.

In my judgment, social sciences are reaching a point where they can begin to satisfy the needs of the practitioner interested in social management and of the average citizen. Instruments are being developed which permit fact-finding of a type which has meaning for social planning. It is correct that the crucial task of the experimental study of changes in group living is still in a pioneering state. However, it has been possible to bring essential factors under experimental scrutiny at least in certain settings. Even the difficult problems of group action have been approached experimentally; for instance, the effects of lecture, individual instruction, request, group discussion and group decision upon subsequent action have been compared; the problems of leadership training and the training of trainers have been studied.

Doubtless the field of problems and situations which are open to experiment will rapidly expand. They will include the problems of social perception and the relation between social perception, ideology and action.

IV

A number of specific conclusions might be mentioned which have influenced the planning of the Research Center.

(a) The study of group life should reach beyond the level of description; the conditions of group life and the forces which bring about change or which resist change should be investigated. The term "dynamics" refers to these forces.

(b) The research cannot be satisfied to deal with a particular aspect of group life. In whatever way the work of the Center would be delimited,

³"Social visibility" is generally used in a more narrow sense referring to a good visibility of certain social characteristics such as being a negro. We are using the term here in a broader sense which distinguishes degrees of good or poor perceptibility of social characteristics in a setting. In this way social visibility changes with the nature of the social facts perceived, the character of the situation, and of the perceiving individual.

within this limit all aspects of group life would have to be taken into consideration.

(c) Since gaining of scientific insight depends upon treating a problem in line with its own nature rather than in accordance with any artificial classification the study of group life should be independent of the way in which society is accustomed to classify a particular group phenomenon. Instead of considering leadership in industry a problem of industry, and considering leadership in scouting a problem of recreation, leadership problems should be recognized as a general aspect of group life. Therefore, all leadership problems should be considered as part of one topic and the actual and desired differences in leadership in different organizations should be viewed as a function of variations in group life. Only on such a broad basis can we hope to understand the functioning of any specific phenomenon.

A systematic scientific approach, therefore, would have to follow comparative lines. To give but one example: the study of minority problems should include as diversified types of minorities as possible. Interrelations between the blind and the seeing, or between children and adults would have to be included as much as the relations of negroes and whites, Catholics and Protestants, or Albanians and Greeks in different sections of the United States and elsewhere. Minority problems would be viewed as but one example of the effect of group status on group living. Such an approach links problems of status differences in a community with status differences in a factory or in other group settings, and connects in a natural and necessary fashion problems and data which are otherwise kept apart.

(d) The Research Center plans to use whatever qualitative or quantitative psychological, sociological, or anthropological methods are needed for investigation. The main methodological interest, however, will be the development of group experiments and particularly change experiments. Such experiments can be carried out in the laboratory or in the field. It is too early to survey the opportunities which the factories or the community provide for that degree of control which is necessary in the experimental procedure, nor can the limitations of such field experiments be stated at present. The work of the last years indicates, however, that field experiments can be carried out to a greater extent than previously seemed possible.

The possibilities on our doorsteps suffice for a start. One of our main concerns will be the development of instruments of measurement which are reliable and which are technically applicable in the available settings.

(e) It is of prime importance that the development of concepts and theories should keep abreast and partly ahead of the gathering of data.

Social science can hope to achieve maturity only if the same degree of mutual guidance of theory and experiments can be reached which has been so characteristic of physical science since the beginning of its rapid progress. That does not mean that social science can take over physical or chemical concepts. In fact, it is of great importance that social science develops, without philosophical prejudice, those concepts which are demanded by the peculiar nature of its subject. To develop adequate theories which combine generality with the power of reaching the concrete is one of the most difficult tasks ahead. Much is gained, however, if one realizes that neither scientific nor practical results can be expected without adequate development of the theoretical aspect of the work.

(f) All scientific work depends to a degree on social circumstances. Without sufficient economic resources and without sufficient social status, physical research would not have been able to proceed so rapidly.

Experiments on groups and particularly field experiments show a similar dependence on the social situation but to a much higher degree. As a rule, a field experiment can be carried out in a factory or other institution only if that institution is ready for it. Fortunately, leaders in many fields are beginning to see that laboratories in group living are not less important than the research laboratories in physics and chemistry.

(g) The close tie between social research and social reality is one of the reasons why particular attention should be given to the practical prerequisites for field experiments and to the conditions under which social research leads to practical application. It seems to be difficult to "sell" even good social research to practitioners. As a rule, only if they themselves have been involved in the planning and execution of the fact-finding, do the practitioners gain the insight and interest necessary for social action. The question of how the expert can organize and assist lay-groups for fact-finding has, therefore, very great practical and theoretical importance.

(h) One may ask whether this interrelation between theoretical social science and the practical needs of society will not lower the scientific level to that of "applied psychology." Psychologists have recognized the necessity of a theoretical approach only relatively recently, and fear has been expressed that the preoccupation with the applied problems of the war will retard this development.

The student of group life should be aware of this danger and of the still greater danger of becoming a servant of very onesided social interests. We should, however, not try to set the clock back and to retard a scientific step that is ready. We will have to look forward, and, I am persuaded that

if the scientist proceeds correctly, a close link with practice can be a blessing for the development of theory. After all, the practitioner is interested in change experiments because he wants to reach certain objectives. In the long run, the most penetrating theoretical experimental analysis will prove to be the most practical procedure; as it has proved to be in the physical sciences.

(i) One last point: Experiments with groups have not only to overcome philosophical prejudices and technical difficulties; they have also to justify themselves as honorable and necessary social procedure. "Group manipulation" is a term that is dreaded, at least in a democratic country. It seems to go counter to the basic dignities of man.

I would not like to see this sentiment diminished. The relation between legitimate and non-legitimate dealings with groups has to be clarified. One point should be seen clearly and strongly. There is no individual who does not, consciously or unconsciously, try to influence his family, his group of friends, his occupational group, and so on. Management is, after all, a legitimate and one of the most important functions in every aspect of social life.

Few aspects are as much befogged in the minds of many as the problem of leadership and of power in a democracy. (I have heard good "liberals" discussing the question whether the enactment of laws to improve minority relations is not necessarily an undemocratic procedure.) We have to realize that power itself is an essential aspect of any and every group and that sentiments against "power politics" and "propaganda" are not infrequently used by power seekers as a means to influence a group.

Not the least service which social research can do for society is to better insight into the legitimate and non-legitimate aspects of power. Here, as in many other aspects of social life, constructive action demands both keeping up standards and facing reality. On this basis alone can a code of "group management" be developed that is honest, efficient and not "manipulation."

V

The organization of the Center tries to serve these objectives.

I have been asked why the Research Center is placed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology rather than at a University. The birth of such an undertaking, naturally, is the outcome of many factors. I would like, however, to mention a few considerations to this point.

The main purpose of engineering is setting free human energies and

enhancing man's power of dealing with nature. The development of machines has been the principle means to this end. The human element itself has not been overlooked in engineering, but on the whole, engineering had perhaps the tendency of minimizing it. The automatic machine has replaced men. Where the engineer has studied men he has done so for "selecting" individuals able to handle machines and by viewing the human being itself as a machine. The time-motion study is a marked expression of this aspect.

There are, however, other aspects of the relation between men and machines which have come more and more to the fore. Running a factory does not mean merely setting up production lines. It means the creation of a new group with certain leadership patterns, with a certain group morale and group productivity. We have learned in the last years how important these factors are for efficiency. We have learned, too, that it is far too primitive to assume that management needs to consider only the economic motives of the factory hand. This motive is only one of many and by no means always the strongest. Good management has to consider the total "culture" and all aspects of group life.

The link between engineering and the total culture of a people has become more obvious as engineering undertakings have grown to gigantic dimensions. Not only in the South Sea Island does the bulldozer cut deeply into every aspect of living. The TVA or any one of the large river projects makes it apparent that modern culture has become so much saturated with engineering that the engineer cannot help influencing deeply every aspect of group life by his action and by his omissions.

It seems, therefore, entirely appropriate for an engineering school which perceives the main task of engineering in a progressive spirit, to make the scientific study of group life a part of its undertaking. The "toughness" of requirements connected with these auspices might in turn be of much benefit to research in Group Dynamics. The Research Center will be free to pursue the study of group life without any artificial limitations in regard to the type of group or the age levels which may be approached.

The Research Center is established in the Department of Economics and Social Science, as a part of the Graduate School. Social Sciences at Massachusetts Institute of Technology have not been split. The Department combines economics, sociology, and psychology. It includes an Industrial Relations Section with which the Research Center cooperates closely. The teaching program of the Center is integrated with that of the Department. Lectures and laboratory courses are offered on general and special problems of Group Dynamics and of Social Perception. Training in theoret-

ical psychology is emphasized and combined with cultural anthropology, sociology, and economics. Whatever subjects in these fields are not offered by Massachusetts Institute of Technology may be available to the graduate student by an exchange arrangement with Harvard University, particularly with its Departments of sociology, anthropology and psychology, including the Psychological Clinic. There are ample opportunities at Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the study of an unusual combination and range of topics, such as Arbitration, Management and Business Administration, Labor Problems, Government Control, City Planning, Economics of Technological Change, Advanced Statistics.

The Research Center offers a Ph.D. in Group Psychology. Its training is designed to educate research workers in theoretical and applied fields of group life and to assist in training practitioners. The student will have an opportunity for field work in industry, in the community and in other aspects of group life.

In research, the main task of the Center is the development of scientific methods of studying and changing group life and the development of concepts and theories of Group Dynamics. Main areas of investigations are to be: industry, minority problems, and the relation between economics and culture.

The Center has associated itself with a number of "field cooperators" in these areas; that is, with organizations of different types which are ready to cooperate in field experiments, and which offer to students occasions for field work. A number of Fellowships and Research Assistantships are available to graduate students. The staff of the Center comprises at present the following persons, some of whom are, however, still occupied with army or government work: John Arsenian, Dorwin Cartwright, Leon Festinger, Charles Hendry, Ronald Lippitt, Marion Radke and Kurt Lewin.

SUMMARY

OBJECTIVES

Research

The Center is devoted to the development of scientific concepts, methods, and theories of group life which should lead to a deeper understanding and permit a more intelligent management of social problems in small and large settings. Emphasis is placed on laboratory and field experiments for studying systematically the forces which determine group life and changes in group life.

The Center is therefore interested in all aspects of group life, such as:
Group structure and group functioning,

including leadership, policy determination, group efficiency, ideology.

Interrelations between groups,

including status relations, minority problems, and the merging and splitting of groups.

Group ecology,

including the dependence of group life on production requirements and on the social, cultural, or physical setting.

Relations between the individual and the group,

including loyalty, belonging to many groups, and marginality.

Research projects are selected according to the requirements of a systematic and comparative study of groups. An attempt is made to integrate the relevant aspects of psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology to this end, making use of industry, community life, and any other type of group activity.

Training

The Center trains graduate students in research and social diagnosis for academic or applied fields. It participates in the training of practitioners in related fields such as Industrial Relations, Applied Psychology, Group Work, Public Health, Government and Community Work.

ORGANIZATION

Research

For carrying out controlled field experiments, the Research Center cooperates with industrial firms, and with organizations active in the field of community work, education and minority problems within and outside Boston. The library of the Industrial Relations Section and rooms for laboratory experiments are available.

Teaching

The Center offers a program of graduate study and research for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Group Psychology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It is part of the general teaching program of the Department of Economics and Social Science, and is carried out in close cooperation with its Industrial Relations Section. In addition to courses in anthropology, psychology, and sociology, the student has opportunity for practical field work.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE POST-WAR ERA*

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Three aspects of the post-war era come to mind as of interest to workers especially in the social sciences:

1. What changes, if any, in the amounts and sources of financial support for social research may be expected?
2. If social science research is destined to be increasingly subsidized by the government, how may this affect (a) the type of research undertaken and (b) its quality?
3. What should be the relation of social scientists to practical affairs and social "movements"?

I

The question of how research should be financed and what determines the allocation of funds for such purposes depends on many things. In the first place, it depends to a large extent on the general post-war economic situation, which is obscure enough. In the second place, it depends somewhat on such details as the tax structure. Under the present schedules which sequester about 80% of income in certain brackets, the recipients of large incomes may be generous in their support of research as they are today generous in advertising and other expenditures that are deductible from taxable income. If a donor can spend \$100,000 for research at a net cost of \$20,000 the feeling may be that if the results of the research are anything at all, they might be worth the latter figure. This situation, in addition to the high national income, undoubtedly accounts for the present availability of many research funds. Since the continuance of the high national income is the problematical issue, or rather since it is practically certain that income will decline, we may assume that some of the present sources of income for research will be curtailed. The decline of Foundation funds has been noted for some time. Some war profits may find their way into social research. More important are likely to be increased gifts from small donors. A pronounced increase in contributions from this source has been noted in the last two decades. Indeed, some students express the

*An address delivered before the Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, Aug. 4, 1944.

view that this source may make up for the decline in the grants from the great fortunes and from the Foundations.¹

Somewhat more promising is the possibility that some of the funds hitherto poured by private business into further physical and chemical research will be shifted in the future to social research. I think business men will be increasingly impressed with the fact that the future profitability of industry will depend as much or more on the management of human relations in and outside their own plants than on further research in chemistry and physics. We already have some evidence of this in such works as the study of interpersonal relations carried on by the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration² in collaboration with Western Electric Company. The idea that social research stands in the same relation to social organization, in the sense of community, national, and international relations, as physical research stands to industrial advance will increasingly bear down on our industrial and business leaders. The universities are expecting a boom from government financed education, but it seems doubtful that much of this prosperity will benefit research. It is more likely to curtail research by adding to the teaching and administrative duties of the faculty.

Considerations such as I have reviewed, however, proceed on the assumption that our attitude toward social research will remain in the future pretty much what it has been in the past. That attitude has been, to a large extent, that social research was a kind of luxury to which surplus funds might be devoted as a sort of advertising stunt reflecting the benevolence of the donors, or in any event as a side issue not vitally concerned with the serious business of managing society. If social research is really to flourish, this view must change. Sooner or later it will change.³

The post-war confusion is likely, in the long run, to force attention on the fact that the world can no longer be run on the oratory and hunches of politicians. Centralized bureaucracy will require a certain amount of research which under simpler conditions could be dispensed with without too glaring and detectable difficulties. Not so with a highly integrated mech-

¹P. H. Davis, "Will Gifts to Universities Continue?" *School and Society*, 61:145-147, March 10, 1945.

²See, for example, F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Harvard University Press, 1939.

³It should be noted that the Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1944 shows a larger total grant to the social sciences than to any other field except Public Health.

anism controlling to an increasing degree men's lives on a national or international scale. The same considerations which have forced the expansion of our Census Bureau, not to mention the vast increase in administrative governmental research of every kind during the past decade especially, are likely to compel still further expansion. This is likely to result in a vast increase of official, governmentally sponsored and supported research, no matter what happens to the type of private, university, and Foundation research which has loomed so large in the past.

If we once take the view that social research is an indispensable part of public administration in modern society there is, of course, no question about our ability to support it on a scale hitherto undreamed of. Huxley once said that "before humanity can obtain on the collective level that degree of foresight, control, and flexibility which on the biological level is at the disposal of human individuals, it must multiply at least ten-fold, perhaps fifty-fold, the proportion of individuals and organizations devoted to obtaining information, to planning, to correlation and the flexible control of execution."⁴ If such research achieved nothing more than to increase by five or ten years the span between wars, it would be the greatest self-liquidating project in the history of mankind.

II

If the above prognosis is correct, namely, that the bulk of social research in the future will be financed through public funds as a part of the cost of public administration, the important question arises as to the effect of this type of financial support on (1) the type of research problems undertaken, (2) the level on which research will be pursued, and (3) the scientific value of the results. To these problems I now turn.

That the problems selected in organized and corporate research will be those in which the responsible spokesmen of the supporting organizations are directly or indirectly interested seems inevitable. To be sure, these spokesmen are sometimes entirely free from the dictates of the original donor of funds and in turn continue to allow complete freedom to researchers under them. But the curiosity or other incentive to research of any kind unquestionably arises from people's relation to the culture of which they are a part. Sometimes extremely sheltered alcoves of a culture manage to lose their relation to the larger whole, and it is presumably this phenomenon

⁴J. Huxley, "Science, Natural and Social," *Scientific Monthly*, 49:5-16, Jan. 1940.

which has come to be designated as the ivory tower. The activities carried on under those conditions are presumably also what is sometimes referred to as truth for truth's sake, art for art's sake, and research for research's sake. But even the problems selected in the ivory tower are still derived from that culture. Those who find something sinister in this phenomenon are probably confusing two things which people addicted to moral evaluation of natural phenomena are likely to confuse. As I have said, the research interests of any person are determined by his cultural conditioning. Again, it is not strange if these interests, acquired as stated, will influence the decision of people charged with deciding on research programs. How could it be otherwise? Those who storm about this state of affairs should obviously be agitated, not by the facts as stated, but by whatever malorganization of society permits people with peculiar, esoteric, or minority interests to decide on research programs which reflect their own special interests rather than the interests of the larger community. This problem is obviously not in any way unique as regards the selection of research programs. It is a problem which is equally present in all other decisions affecting the community.

From this point of view, government, as the accredited spokesman of the public interest, should be, theoretically at least, the ideal sponsor of research. Of course, I am aware of the difference between the theory of perfect government and the fact. M. Polanyi⁵ has recently reviewed, with special reference to Russia, what *may* happen under state supported research. It does not follow, as we shall see below, that this *need* happen just because the state is the supporting agency. In any event, I am now analysing a problem rather than giving practical advice. In so doing it is proper to ask: If the government's problems requiring research are not, broadly speaking, also our problems and the crucial problems of our society, then is it not time to do something about the government rather than rule out the possibility of relevant and disinterested scientific research under government auspices? Actually, of course, we shall probably continue to depend on both public and private sponsorship of research. I merely point out that since all selection of research problems is necessarily biased according to the interest of the selector, this is not an objection that lies especially or intrinsically against research under government auspices. Theoretically, the contrary should be the case, and actually, as we shall see, it is not impossible in practice.

⁵"The Autonomy of Science," *Scientific Monthly*, 60:141-150, Feb. 1945.

Another problem that looms with the prospect that an increasing proportion of social research will be conducted under governmental auspices is the question whether such research will not be unduly devoted to immediate day-to-day administrative needs to the neglect of long-time programs devoted to building up science itself. The latter consists of developing a permanent fund of knowledge of principles and laws. When once developed, these laws lend themselves with vast efficiency to the solution of increasingly varied day-to-day problems which no one can foresee in detail. The problem of maintaining a proper balance between these types of research is by no means unique to the social sciences. It is frequently a subject of discussion also in physical research.

The problem is a difficult one, and presents itself in the most trivial as well as in most portentous forms. Can one take time from office routine to reorganize the files in order to carry on the routine more efficiently? Is the research division of a large agency so busy making computations that no one has time to construct the tables or the machines which greatly facilitate such computations for all time to come? Except for the generalized knowledge and instruments of this kind that science has given us, we could never hope to make any headway against the problems that bear down upon us. Would administrative and governmentally sponsored research give due attention to this aspect?

I see no grounds either theoretical or from experience to worry greatly on this score. Theoretically, there is no reason why the government should not support research of as enlightened, long-time and balanced character as any that is now conducted under private auspices. Practically, I think the researches of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the various Experiment Stations, not to mention many other departments of governmental research, have shown themselves capable of contributing to the advancement of pure science quite as well as have the private universities and the Foundations. As the state universities attain maturity, I see less and less difference between them and the comparable private institutions. It is true that the necessity of periodic appeals for appropriations from legislatures and from Congress may sometimes threaten the continuity of research of the greatest long-time importance because its significance cannot be readily interpreted to the taxpayer. In the other sciences, this problem is sometimes met by a judicious display of those products of research which are readily appreciated by everyone, such as radio, television, gigantic potatoes, or a prize bull. The inference is that it is only as a result of the more mysterious doings in the laboratories that these wonders are possible and the taxpayer usually, and correctly, accepts that view.

Social scientists may have to pay more attention in the future to proper window dressing if they want appropriations for their more fundamental but less dramatic activities. It is worth noting, however, that under the auspices of government experiment stations, the exigencies of social surveys and other "practical" projects has not precluded highly scientific work in scale construction and even in sociological theorising. The wise administrator will insist on having a certain percentage of his budget definitely set aside for improvement of the instruments and techniques of his research as distinguished from field work, tabulation and analysis. Even in the organization of large scale opinion polling in war time, I am informed that it is possible to divert 10% of the budget for research on methods.

In short, the fear that governmentally controlled research *need* be more precarious, especially in its purely scientific aspects, than research under other auspices appears unwarranted both in theory and in fact. If we add to this the fact that certain important types of social research probably cannot be undertaken at all except under governmental auspices, I do not feel especially despondent about the prospect, if my guess is correct, that in the future a larger proportion of social research will be under government support. It is difficult to see, for example, how the important developments in attitude testing which Stouffer's organization in the War Department has produced could have taken place at all, or in less than several decades, under private auspices.

There remains the most crucial point: What about research which may result in conclusions derogatory to the government that sponsors the research? What about the danger that in addition to the bias of the selection of problems, government will also bias the *results* of research conducted under its auspices?

The problems of bias, especially in social research, have been sufficiently pointed out in the literature to make it unnecessary here to review them. Is it not generally agreed that bias is likely to be present in all research and that therefore, an important part of scientific training consists of becoming acquainted with that fact and with the techniques that science has developed for detecting and correcting these biases? Among the multitudes of influences that determine these biases, the wishes of the source of the financial support of a given research is doubtless one. I do not see, as previously stated, that it need be more of problem in the case of governmentally sponsored research than in research under other auspices. The same precautions against it may be taken in either case. In the end, the principal one of these precautions will be the adequate training in scientific integrity

and professional ideals. These are what we rely upon in other sciences. It is not an infallible precaution, but on the whole it has been adequate. I see no reason why the government scientist should be more subject to bias on behalf of his employer than are other scientists. On the contrary, since the government may, if it chooses, command the highest quality of personnel, and since people of high competence have less incentive to corruption than second-raters, the scientist in the public service *could* be relatively reliable in this respect. In any event, the suppression and corruption of research results is by no means confined to government research.

I am aware that the problem of government and especially Federal support of higher education and research is one which is causing serious concern to many educators today. I have no doubt that there are problems here which deserve the most serious consideration. But I must say that I am not impressed with the manner in which the question is being approached by some executives. The president of Yale in a recent bulletin⁶ says dramatically: "Contributions from outside mean ultimate control from the outside. When that happens, liberty will have disappeared and authority will be supreme." Before I can get greatly excited over this, I should want to know (a) whether the control from "the outside" is likely to be better or worse than the present control and (b) whose liberty besides the present official liberties of the president and the trustees will have disappeared. President Seymour goes on: "We know what happened in Germany when the free local institutions, the universities, the charitable federations, lost their independence, when public funds were substituted for private endowments and gifts." Certainly we know what happened in Germany. But I certainly do not know that it necessarily happened as a result of publicly financed education, or that it would happen here if Yale and other private institutions became state or national universities. The problems of publicly financed education and research are real and deserve the most careful study. But I am not impressed with the special pleadings of certain conspicuous vested educational interests, notably the parochial, and their attempt to frighten us with the current stereotypes.

III

Rightly or wrongly, I am less worried over the apparent prospect of increased support and control of much research by the government than I am by the low conception that many social scientists seem to have of

⁶As reported in *The New York Times*, July 7, 1944, p. 30.

their task. It is a fact, I think, that many so-called social scientists do not seriously believe in social science as an instrument, in nature and uses comparable to physical science. Many earnest sociologists, economists and others are primarily interested, I believe, in the program of some pressure group, and apparently feel that only as their science contributes to the success of the N.A.M. or the C.I.O., Democracy, the True Church, or what not, is it important.

Now it would not occur to me to find fault with anyone who elects to devote his talents to the problems and interests of either or any of the scores of such organizations, movements, or faiths. I have always defended the right of scientists as of other people to sell their services wherever they see fit, according to their consciences and whatever goals they cherish. By the same token, however, I also contend that if a scientist wishes simply to devote himself to the advancement of science, that is also permissible, without laying himself open to accusations of pursuing "science for science's sake" or retreating to the ivory tower.

In the first place, we must distinguish between the ivory tower properly speaking and the realm of so-called pure science. The ivory tower is inhabited by various cultivators of dead knowledge and by those who think that scientific knowledge has been gained when they personally have achieved a certain state of repose which they choose to call understanding. The so-called pure scientist has nothing in common with the dweller in the ivory tower. The pure scientist has always recognized that the day's work must be done and has as much respect as anyone for those who do it. But he also recognizes that perhaps the most basic distinction between man and the rest of the animal world is the former's capacity to work for remote and distant goals. It is the determination of present conduct in the light of this larger view that characterizes intelligent behavior, and which is notably required in the important scientific work as contrasted with day to day stop-gap projects. Only when man began taking off a little time from the day's work to devote himself to the construction of theories and tools of general and permanent applicability did he begin to gain in his race with catastrophe. This is the job of the pure scientist and it is as practically and vitally related to life as is the concocting of vaccines or the formulation of a relief program.

The confusion of thinking on this subject is reflected, I think, in a recent paper by my good friend R. S. Lynd.⁷ He refers to my attitude on

⁷R. S. Lynd, "The Implications of Economic Planning for Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 9:14-20, Feb. 1944.

this matter as "Jovian" and of the ivory tower. He complains of the lack of enthusiasm for what he terms the brand new and urgent problem arising from current political upheavals. He is quite right that I see nothing new about the *scientific* problems—unless you regard the prediction of the weather on each successive day as a "new" scientific problem. I would merely consider it an old problem in the application of scientific knowledge—art, engineering, or whatever you want to call it. Lynd is mistaken also if he assumes that because I make the above distinction, I am indifferent or even hostile to weather prediction. I consider both meteorological science and weather prediction equally valuable but consider it a permissible division of labor for any particular person to work at the one to the relative neglect of the other, and that above all, there is great advantage in not confusing oneself as to what one is doing.

Lynd asks: "If we face squarely into this enormous and fascinating opportunity to develop the know-how for the re-structuring and remotivating of American society, what do we go to work on? I assume . . . that our loyalty and energies would go to the effort to implement the democratic side of this struggle rather than its opposite."⁸ To develop the *know-how* for the re-structuring and remotivation of society is exactly what appeals to me as a scientific problem. What I am unable to see is how such knowledge, if it is really scientific, could fail to be equally valuable to my enemies in re-constructing society according to *their* preferences. This may seem too bad to some but it is the nature of scientific knowledge, whether sociological or physical. I accept that fact, and far from deploring it, I rejoice in it, because it is precisely this general validity of scientific knowledge which makes it an instrument for the achievement of *whatever* goals man may elect to pursue through the ages. What we should worry about is social scientists coming forward and offering knowledge that does not have this general validity, for then we are being offered something that by definition is not scientific knowledge. If it is Jovian and ivory towerish to make so obvious a point, then I am glad to be Jove in the Ivory Tower rather than the dispenser of Christian science, Catholic science, Jewish science, Democratic science, C.I.O. science, N.A.M. science, or what have you. I say that the scientific value of findings such as those of Roethlisberger and Dickson in their monograph *Management and the Worker* (and every other *scientific* sociological monograph) is precisely the same whether they are produced under the auspices of Western Electric or the C.I.O. The scien-

⁸*Ibid.* p. 17.

tific value of these findings derives from the scientific competence and integrity, not from the political and social views, of the scientists making the studies.

Many people are disturbed by the indubitable fact that scientific knowledge *per se* is a-moral and does not contain in itself specifications as to the ends for which it is to be used. This need not be disturbing if we realize that it is still the privilege of the scientist in his role as a citizen to devote himself to whatever movement seems to him to be a desirable one and one to which the findings of science should be devoted. In short, scientists may organize for their own protection or economic advancement, or the advancement of science, or any other objective. When they do so they are functioning as merely another pressure group and they should not delude either themselves or the public to think that such activity is scientific work. This may seem a fine distinction to some but its implications in science are enormous.

It is a curious fact that sociologists and psychologists especially, who are accustomed to analyze personal behavior in terms of roles—specified conduct appropriate to given conditions—should nevertheless have difficulty in grasping the very obvious and rigorously defined role of a scientist as contrasted, for example, with the role of the reformer, the propagandist, the citizen. The anomaly is probably chiefly the result of the recent emergence of the social sciences from their erstwhile conception of themselves as reform movements and uplift cults. This is a role which is perhaps more familiar and more congenial to some of us than is the scientist's role, and we would rather like to cling to the reformer role and at the same time capitalize on the prestige of science.

The temptation is admittedly considerable to bolster one's favorite "movement," by posing as a disinterested appraiser of the truth while actually engaging in special pleading. It is also tempting in this way to seek the right of sanctuary in the form of academic freedom to escape the ordinary consequences of pressure group activity as visited on less clever and less privileged people. Special pleading must be recognized for what it is whether it serves the C.I.O. or the N.A.A.M. I have no objection to universities maintaining forums for special pleading nor do I object to scientists taking part in such discussion as long as no attempt is made to pass the whole thing off as "science."⁹ Too frequently scientists forget this

⁹For elaboration on this theme see my paper "The Future of the Social Sciences," *Scientific Monthly*, 53:1-14, Oct. 1941, especially pp. 12-14. See also R. D. Leigh, "The

distinction and put forward such historically insupportable allegations as that only under democracy, or some other particular type of government can science prosper or men be "free," "happy," etc. The form of social organization which will yield to men the satisfaction they desire obviously depends upon a great number and variety of factors, including traditions, resources, technology, scientific development and education. Scientists would do better to make it perfectly clear that their personal preferences in these matters are merely their current preferences and not scientific conclusions valid for all times and places, or conditions of people.

To be sure, priests and propagandists of various cults have often complained that the propagation of certain scientific theories and conclusions has destroyed faith in the cults, and has altered social behavior. But that is hardly a relevant consideration in determining the validity of either set of theories. In the same ways, the advance of the social sciences will doubtless expose a lot of nonsense in current beliefs about class structure, race, and other aspects of the social order. The resulting complaints of those who have vested interests in other beliefs obviously have no relevance as bearing on the validity of the scientific theories or conclusions in question. If the adherents of social "movements" will attack scientific theories on the ground that these theories or conclusions contravene conclusions to which the reformers owe higher allegiance than to science, they are entirely in the clear. Their trouble results from confusing a program of social organization with a method of reaching a certain type of demonstrably valid generalizations.

There is, of course, a small fringe of cultists who like to talk quite volubly about "science and society" but who repudiate the whole orientation of natural science, as far as social phenomena are concerned, in favor of something they call the "dialectical development of society." It has been discovered currently, for example, by one of this fraternity¹⁰ that the application of the natural-scientific viewpoint, as I have described it in my *Foundations of Sociology*, to the human social order, "would freeze the social process in its present class structure." This is a very revealing statement, indeed, as to some people's conception of the nature of any or all scientific conclusions whatsoever. It should be unnecessary to point out that any statement

Educational Functions of Social Scientists," *American Political Science Review*, 38:531-539, June 1944. Also M. Polanyi, *op. cit.*

¹⁰F. E. Hartung, "The Sociology of Positivism," *Science and Society*, (Fall 1944) p. 340.

a scientist, as scientist, might make about class structure would be of the type: "If certain conditions obtain, *then* a certain class structure is likely (with stated degree of probability) to result." "If a certain class structure is maintained, *then* certain social effects may be expected." And so forth. To contend that this type of statement is designed to "freeze" the present class structure is like contending that the statement "If the temperature falls to 32°F, then water will freeze," is a malicious injunction (probably put forward by private utility corporations!) to freeze water.

The same group is also a sort of self-constituted scientific Gestapo devoted to smelling out and labeling scientific research and conclusions as Fascist, Communist, Capitalist, Democratic, or whatever the current categories happen to be. A little acquaintance with the nature of scientific conclusions should again make it clear that such labels simply have no meaning as applied to scientific theories or generalizations, either in the physical or in the social sciences. Is the second law of thermodynamics Communist or Capitalist? Is Stouffer's statement of the relation of human migration to distance and intervening opportunities a Fascist or a Democratic generalization? Are the Census Bureau's facts and generalizations regarding trends in our income, wages or occupations progressive or reactionary, blasphemous or holy, pro-union or pro-N.A.M.? Scientists will pay no attention to such questions for they merely betray a confused notion as to the nature of science.

Actually, I think the discussion regarding the relative virtue of so-called scientific research on the one hand and "applied" research on the other, or between any research on the one hand and so-called "social action" on the other is little more than a type of intolerance among people of what they do not understand or of other people's taste and abilities. The soap-box boys in Union Square doubtless regard the editors of the Daily Worker as of the ivory tower and wonder how these writers can be so callous as to sit and write when they should be out circulating a petition or haranguing a crowd. The brethren who specialize in picketing at strikes or in beating up scabs doubtless regard the soap-box as an ivory tower and wonder why soap-boxers do not engage in "social action" instead. In the end it is a question of how you think you can spend your time more profitably. This will depend largely on what kind of a person you are. If you think you can spend your time more profitably on a soap-box in the park rather than in an ivory tower on the campus, i. e. if the former will advance the things in which you are most interested, then take to the soap-box. On the other hand, if you think that it is more important and

that you personally are better suited for assembling facts for the soap-boxers to talk about, then devote yourself to assembling facts and formulating generalizations. It depends on your conception of what the problem most needs and your estimate of where your particular capacities will yield the largest return.

In conclusion, then, the outlook for the social sciences is somewhat as follows: The post-war social situation, national and international, will require more attention to social research than in the past. That same situation makes it practically inevitable that a larger proportion of research will be publicly financed. This need not be a menace, if government is what it should be and what it can be as a result of instruments which social science has already developed. Far greater is the danger that scientists may devote themselves to trivial and ephemeral tasks for the sake of a little cheap and immediate applause such as comes from selling out science to one or another of the current pressure groups. These groups are always eager to have science as a tail to their particular kites instead of as the instrument board and the chart by which a properly qualified pilot may navigate with assurance in all weathers and toward *whatever* goals seem to each generation worth pursuing in the light of human experience.

What that experience has been and what it means in terms of the present aspirations of man must also be determined by social scientists. This body of knowledge of human experience, determined by the tested methods of science, is the only rational foundation for human values and ideals, which are today sought in ancient books and in the pronouncements of semantically deranged leaders, newspaper columnists, and radio commentators. Even social scientists today piously defer to these dopesters on questions of what is a legitimate interpretation of man's experience through the ages. What better indication do we have of present social scientists' low estimate of their own function? By relinquishing this function to people unqualified to fulfill it, we become responsible for accentuating the schizoid character of our culture by unreasonably extending the gap between people's conception of what ought to be and what can be.

SOCIOMETRIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

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Ours is a world of increasingly urgent assignments and problems crying for solution. Ours, moreover, is a world of an increasing number of scientific methods standing by waiting to offer their services and crying loudly for bread and work. The latter problem, chafing as it is, could at least be soothed if society would brief the scientists in advance as to what the problems really consist of, what we really want to know, what targets must not be destroyed in order not to destroy the problems themselves by the very act of trying to solve them.

World peace is a problem of which we must have a pre-scientific preview if need be, before we can say what any scientific method can contribute toward its achievement.

Our generation has prided itself with the achievement, after many centuries, of war on a world-wide basis. After decades of preaching total enmity, world wars seem to be the latest in total nationalism. Came the end of the war and the witnessing of events which should be interesting to sociologists. Groups of experts of high standing seem to forget the enemy quality of the expert from beyond the barbed wire. International cartels and trusts are rebuilt, inventions and patents are exchanged, the bankers take up their highly complex relationships, especially the presidents of the great banking concerns and the national banks, and last, but by far not least, the military experts are seen to exchange their usual courtesies again. The moment a person's name is in the written or unwritten register of the experts and specialists of international standing, he has a good chance not to be treated as a criminal once the cease fire order has come.

It is important, though, to look into the details. Certain specialists, of tank warfare, aviation, etc., need not fear anything. But Reichsmarshal Goering—is he really an expert or has he only by some other means forced his entry into the ranks? The British seem to adhere to the latter idea, while American generals feel he is their equal. The British, on the other hand, seem to have no doubt that Willy Messerschmidt* is a high class specialist so they let him wander around London and live in a handsomely

*Former combat plane designer.

outfitted apartment. Occasionally he also has a free seat for a theater and is allowed to use an automobile. The British government does not deny that it will use the German generals. However, this will not be a government, this will be an administration. The Americans, for whom a president's tenure is his administration, might not take that lightly, for various reasons. Nor will the Russians, though they have paved the way to putting generals' committees to good service. It is notable that such use of specialists seems to be independent of the political and economic system, as there is no other difference between the Russians and the Western allies than that they usually choose different persons. The fate of some Axis national will hinge upon whether he is a useful expert according to the allied experts and governing bodies. British soldiers protest to parliament against the order to salute German officers. This, again, is an important fact. Soldiers and non-coms do not understand the feelings of the specialists of warfare. Apart from political intangibles, whether a government is recognized will depend on whether its members are worthwhile specialists. That dates back to the era of the Renaissance when the possessors of knowledge in Roman and Greek formed an international republic, ready to adorn life at the courts of the war-waging princes with the blossoms of their erudition. The humanists would travel freely all over Europe and understand and recognize each other by using the super-national Latin language. When the Greek states were conquered by Rome, the internationale of the Greek teachers, philosophers, and scientists was accepted by the victors and spread over what was known at that time as the inhabited world (the *oikoumene*). It is the internationale of the executives, i.e., of the persons who have qualified for executive positions in science, business, politics, international law, etc., and it has increased since the times of the Greek teachers and major-domos up to the present. This internationale has not gained ground in all professions and leading vocations equally. Lawyers seem to be more internationally minded than physicians. Biological superstitions of hereditary differences of the races, have carried more weight among physicians. Historians too, have since the time of the Renaissance increasingly become the guardians of the holy grail of nationalism and there is little apart from abstract methodology that a French historian would concede to a German or vice versa.

Be this as it may, in order to approach the peace problem realistically we must understand that there are aristocratic although not necessarily hereditary or hidebound forces that counterbalance the dogma of absolute sovereign nationalism and that spell a kind of affinity the moment arms

are laid down. If we could know what the real influence of these forces is and what, on the other hand, the weight of the incensed petty bourgeoisie we would be able to handle the problem of world peace more realistically.

This is not to say that the aristocratic layers in the above connotation are necessarily pacifistic but they who stand to lose more will more soberly evaluate the possible gains. They also are possessed of the nation's history and of wholesome fear of their own underprivileged co-nationals. So, on the whole, the aristocratic layers of the managerial type may be counted upon to be willing to avoid bloodshed that will probably not be repaid.

That does not imply that the masses, including the petty bourgeoisie, are war minded. The famous example of the Athenian democracy, being led into the war by Cleon the Tanner against the will of the aristocrats does not prove all too much. Democracy was endangered. Democracy could obtain only by uniting the nation for a victorious imperialistic war. We have witnessed the same constellation in the aftermath of the French Revolution. But this constellation does not bear out generalization. The masses, less conscious of the national history and the national problems than the more trained layers of society and less able to organize themselves and to influence public opinion, are in no position to create active war-mindedness and to lead the nation into war. Even the modern leftist parties have peddled the myth of the military impotence of democracy. And in 1913, the year before the first World War, the French socialist, Marcel Sembat wrote a book with the characteristic title: *Faites un Roi, sinon Faites la Paix*, "Either choose a king or choose a peace policy." To teach the masses¹ and to make them war-minded is the proper task of propaganda which is directed by the trustees of public opinion, that is, again, by the leading élites. In other words, the question of war and peace in modern fully developed nations primarily depends on the judgment of the complex international situation by the historically and politically trained élite. It only secondarily depends on the relatively unchanging attitudes of certain societal strata, social classes. And it is, thirdly, relatively independent of that which plays a big part in the tribal organization, i.e., the instinctual inheritance, the aggressive mood, the need for abreaction of tensions, etc. The latter is certainly great in modern industrialized society and wars offer an opportunity for such abreaction. But this does not mean that such tensions and urges

¹Multitudes are not masses in the way a modern leader of a nation, ready to declare war, wants them to be. For a detailed analysis see W. Eliasberg, *Textbook of Propaganda*. Brun, Rohrer, 1936.

will have any measurable influence on the declaration of war or the signing of peace.

The sociometric relationships that certainly exist in the international managerial group have so far been beyond exact measurement. Scientifically we do not know more than a few slogans, for instance, the slogan of the three hundred families that would rule the world or the upper four hundred, or the psychologies of court life which were built up in the seventeenth century (*les Maximes de La Rochefoucauld*). There is, however, a very realistic problem that can be sociometrically approached, the problem of these masses which have, for the last fifteen years, been under the sway of a bloodthirsty and boundless propaganda. For the solution of this problem we have a very good tool in modern sociometry. I have taken up this problem in an earlier publication.²

So far psychologists and pathopsychologists were either excluded or voluntarily kept aloof from the work of planting and cementing the peace. Partly that may be explained by the fact that psychiatry and psychology, and all the other related sciences have been focussed mainly on the individual. And when they became aware of the interrelations of individuals in groups the views of psychologists were stalled in the most dynamic and least organized form of group life, the crowd. Thus, psychologists and psychiatrists *bona fide* tried revolutions in the court of psychiatry and handed down verdicts of insanity.³ The big error of these men of good intentions was their unfamiliarity with the more highly organized forms of group life, as well as the intimate factors that obtain among the members of living groups. The newer findings of the anthropologists should also be consulted. They found that the so-called savages are guided by a surprisingly great number of observances, tabus, and rituals, if not statute books in their economic and public life which proves that abstract ideological relationships govern human life from the beginning.

Thus, we find two different types of social relationships, the tangible ones—one might also call them rub-elbow relationships. The other type, the abstract, might also be called sociological. Here the individual's role is a functional one. His individual drives, urges, feelings, give way to the sociological "role he has to play." It should be noted, however, that relationships of the first type are not complete if only the sensory data are considered. The perceptible presence of the fellow-man is the basis for tangible sociological relationships. There is a basic law operating here, that of the

²W. Eliasberg, Facing Post-War Germany, *J. Soc. Psychol.*, 1944, 20, 301-11.

two or more distances between each two related points.³ This law becomes clear if one thinks of the fact that between parent and child, between husband and wife, there are at least two emotional relationships which together and intertwined make the one social-psychological tangible relationship. The prototype of the abstract, non-tangible relationship is any procedure which is reeled off according to pre-established rules, where everyone of those involved has to play the role in compliance with the play-book. It is the combination of these two strata of social relationships, of tangible rub-elbow relationships on the one hand and ideological relationships on the other, which should enable sociometry successfully to build up new groups from the initial stage, the *status nascendi*.⁴

The first task after the war is the reconstruction, with a certain measure of control—the suggestions run the gamut between extinction and invisible control—of the development of the armament industries of our former foes. The extinction plans mostly stem from leftist circles and bear the stamp of emotionality and vengefulness; the rightist plans, on the other hand, were not begotten by softness of mind and inborn tendencies toward pacifism. It is rather the “business as usual” philosophy, the above characterized mentality of business internationalism. Last but not least, business wants to get back its own from government by taking up an international *laissez-faire*.

The first years of reconstruction will be needed to build houses, to regain arable terrain, to put back into commission the drainage systems, to reforest, to repair railroads and other means of communication. A second group of tasks will be the reconstruction of mentality, weeding out of Axis propaganda, re-education, democratization, or whatever term may be used for this process of cautious readjustment. For the first purpose much menial work will be necessary. It is in the implementation of a comprehensive plan for reconstruction where the cooperation of psychiatrists, psychologists, pedagogues, social engineers and sociometrists, together with architects, engineers, economists, etc., is necessary. In other words specialists in the peaceful organization of group life and on the other hand industrial managers are needed.

³W. Eliasberg, *Psychiatry and Propaganda*, *J. Nerv. and Men. Dis.*, 1945, 101, 227-42.

⁴For the importance of the *status nascendi* experiment in group life see W. Eliasberg, *Textbook of Propaganda*, already quoted, and the same author's *Psychiatry and Propaganda*, also quoted. Cf. J. L. Moreno, *Psychological Organization of Groups in the Community*, *Yearbook of the American Association on Mental Deficiency*, Boston 1933, pp. 23-24, and J. L. Moreno's *Das Stegreiftheater*, Berlin, Kiepenheuer, 1923.

The German people, after six years of war as far as one can judge, are not in good mental or physical condition. They have been changed into masses, they are accustomed to mass reactions, and they will turn to them because of previous training. The levels of response and self-aspiration are lowered through exhaustion and, last but not least, the lowering of the nutritive standards and the increase of infectious diseases are leaving their mark. In this primary stage, both quarantine and propaganda should play a role. At the same time, while through these twin procedures the people awaken from poisoned dreams of mass omnipotence to tangible facts, they will have to use self-governmental activities for the real task that awaits them. They will have to form groups to be transferred to encampments to rebuild devastated countries. The task of such groups will be to form sub-groups of skilled workers, agricultural laborers, repair crews, professional people, etc. Every group, after its transfer to the encampment may lead its own life. Applying the sociometric method,⁵ each group will form itself on the basis of the competence and the sociability of the prospective members. The nominees will have to be confirmed by allied authorities after thorough scrutiny. The transfer to the camp should not start before this preliminary work of the authorities has been done. After the arrival of the population in their encampments, the work of re-education proper can be started, together with the workaday job. Education and propaganda should not dwell too much on generalities. The local problems of the camp and sub-groups in the camp must play the first part. Attention to local problems and self-government are the foundations of democracy. After a while, one should try to unite representatives of the different camps so that they may learn the value of voluntary cooperation. Thus they would be introduced to the functioning of the representative democratic system which, of course, with the 34 parties in the Reichstag, was doomed from the very beginning. The House of Camp Representatives could communicate in many ways with the population remaining in Germany, and they could measure the changes in opinion among the campers and those in Germany through the modern polling method by means of which they would also increase our knowledge of the polling instrument as such. We should find out the measure of freedom and coercion which will be appropriate in each camp and in each moment of the development.⁶ We should not create the dangerous state of mind of the masses artifi-

⁵J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A new approach to the problem of human inter-relations*, Beacon House, New York, 1934.

⁶Objective coercion is, of course, not identical with frustration, as many psych-

cially. In other words we should preserve the hierarchies that will form by themselves in the camps, provided, of course, thorough allied supervision will raise no objection. The plan, moreover, will protect Germany and the world against unemployment and in vain will this time the displaced class of industrialists, imperialists, and militarists try to hire a Hitler to build up an army from the unemployed. The psychological and sociometrical situation in the post-war encampment will need thorough analysis, as was already mentioned where we spoke of the public opinion polling. Last, but not least, methods developed in group psychotherapy⁷ and psychodrama should be used to make tangible and visible, to dramatize, and to abreact, if possible, the political, private, and economic tensions. One should, however, keep in mind that the fundamental history, the aspirations of a great modern nation cannot be abreacted.

Allied politicians, generals, and statesmen, the high governing commissions, etc., should be kept abreast of the results of the investigation of the changes in mind in the encampments, and they should, if this is not asking too much, know the fundamental history of the German nation and nationalism.

Thus, with a well defined task in a well defined international political situation with the allies clinging for a not too short period to a definitely stabilized policy sociometry will be able to do a splendid job in the pacification of the European mind. Sociometry should not allow itself, however, to tread on the slippery path of unctious sermons and pamphlets. It should rather resign and leave the responsibility to the politicians, if it becomes clear from the beginning that the above-mentioned assumptions cannot be fulfilled. It is better for a science to stand by with crossed arms waiting for a situation where it can be brought to fruition than to sell out to the lowest bidder.

ologists assume. Whether it will be felt as coercion depends on many factors. The leaners-to, who are the majority particularly among the Germans, will prefer coercion to self responsibility. Aristocratic propaganda has been possible only because of this tendency. There is a whole gamut of attitudes from revolt to enthusiastic devotion attendant upon the same objective measure of coercion and freedom. Cf. W. Eliasberg, *Über Sozialen Zwang*, *Psychoanl. Alman.*, 1929; the same author's *Textbook*, already quoted. Sum total: that straight line from coercion to frustration to aggression with the practical consequence of freedom consisting of minimum coercion, does not exist. Government is not as simple as that.

⁷J. L. Moreno, *Group Method and Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, New York, 1932.

ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD JAPANESE-AMERICANS

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This paper is a summary of selected data from a study of attitudes of college students toward the Japanese-American and Mexican-American minorities. A detailed questionnaire was answered by 2,647 students of 17 colleges and universities during the period January to June 1943, and we shall analyze here the two largest regional samples, the Pacific Coast and the Middle West. The period covered represents the nadir in the situation of Japanese-Americans: establishment of the population in relocation centers was complete, releases were restricted to a relatively few college students, the organization of antagonistic attitudes was highly developed and widely published, and the marshalling of liberal sentiment had not yet begun.

In choosing the Mexican population for comparison we were attempting to get at differences in attitudes of students toward visible minority groups, one identifiable with the enemy and the other with an ally. Regrettably we did not include a filter question to learn what part of our sample was aware that Mexico was at war with Japan. The two groups are excellent for comparative analysis. The Pacific Coast sample had about the same amount of contact with both Mexicans and Japanese. This was considerably more than the Middle West sample had with either minority population. (See Table II.) One by-product of our findings is an estimation of the influence of actual contact with a minority group on certain verbalized attitudes. Despite the greater Pacific Coast contacts, the responses do not diverge in a way which can be attributed to this difference. An additional kind of control would have settled the question of the effect of contact conclusively and may deserve to be investigated in another study. Another region, such as the South with its Negro population, would afford a cross control as well as the parallel controls which we have available in our findings.

The basic data of the study are the approve-disapprove responses to seven types of relationship. The familiar social distance scale was the point of departure for our formulation, but we see no virtue in attempting to rationalize the data in that form.¹

¹Cf. Thomas C. McCormick, "Simple Percentage Analysis of Attitude Questionnaires," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (March, 1945) 390-395.

The instruction was as follows:

Please indicate as frankly and honestly as possible the types of relationship with the Mexicans and Japanese which you would approve or disapprove *for yourself*. Base your judgments on your *feelings* about the Japanese or Mexicans *as a group* (Not on the best or the worst *individuals* you have known or heard about). Encircle APPROVE or DISAPPROVE for *each* type of relationship described below.

The types of relationship were:

1. Marriage
2. Frequent personal contact
Examples: (a) As an intimate friend
(b) As a member of my fraternity
3. Occasional social contact
Examples: (a) As a neighbor, living in my block
(b) As a fellow student in my school or college
4. Occupational contact (equality, but no personal contact)
Examples: (a) As a member of my profession (medical, legal or educational organizations)
(b) As a fellow worker in my plant or business
5. Citizenship in the U.S.A.
Examples: (a) Admission to service in armed forces
(b) Right to vote and hold public office
6. Visitor in the U.S.A.
Examples: (a) As students (temporary) or travelers
(b) As workers in certain industries, on farms, etc.
7. Exclusion from the U.S.A.

The respondent, it will be noted, was required to make a separate approve-disapprove choice for each relationship, and he was asked to make separate judgments about "American citizens of Japanese ancestry" and "Japanese-born aliens" and about "American citizens of Mexican ancestry" and "Mexican-born aliens."

Some defects of the questionnaire should be noted. Point 7 requires an inversion of response which may have been confusing for some persons although there is no evidence that it altered the finding significantly. Omission of a "don't know" or "undecided" category is a flaw. The time span was longer than desirable but the reader is aware of the difficulties involved in securing a national sample of a questionnaire administered in class rooms.²

²The following persons assisted by securing samples of administering the question-

The second rubric referred to actual contacts and was designed to discover the experiences of the respondents with members of the minorities. The form was as follows:

My personal contacts with Mexicans and Japanese are as follows:

1. I have never met a Japanese ————. I have never met a Mexican ————.
2. I have personally known Japanese and Mexicans as indicated below: (Encircle yes or no in each category)

	Mexicans		Japanese	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
a. As close friends	Yes	No	Yes	No
b. As casual acquaintances (fellow workers, schoolmates)	Yes	No	Yes	No
c. As business associates	Yes	No	Yes	No
d. As servants or employees	Yes	No	Yes	No

The remaining categories require no elucidation at this point and were presented in the questionnaire as follows:

JAPANESE IN THE U. S. (Encircle one alternative in each case):

1. The U. S. government in dealing with the Japanese aliens has been: brutally undemocratic / hasty and harsh / correct / too easy / stupidly indulgent.
2. The U. S. government in dealing with American citizens of Japanese descent has been: brutally undemocratic / hasty and harsh / correct / too easy / stupidly indulgent.
3. Most Japanese aliens in the continental U. S. are: loyal to Japan / neutral / loyal to U. S.
4. Most Japanese aliens in Hawaii are: loyal to Japan / neutral / loyal to U. S.
5. Most citizens of Japanese ancestry in the continental U. S. are: loyal to Japan / neutral / loyal to U. S.
6. Most citizens of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii are: loyal to Japan / neutral / loyal to U. S.

naire and we are grateful for their contribution to the study: Professors Henry Andrews, Jean Arsenian, H. C. Brearley, L. Guy Brown, A. S. Clayton, Beatrice Clemmons, Lloyd Allen Cook, Elizabeth Duffey, John Eberhart, Buell Gallagher, Howard C. Gilhousen, Ralph Gundlach, Howard E. Jensen, James T. Laing, Edwin M. Lemert, John J. B. Morgan, Albert Morris, M. F. Nimkoff, Neal de Nood, Frederick B. Parker, Howard Taylor, Mark Hanna Watkins. We are especially indebted to Professor Franklin Fearing for his assistance in initiating the study and to the Committee on Research of the Academic Senate of the University of California for financial support.

WARTIME TREATMENT OF THE JAPANESE. Here are six alternatives for the wartime control of Japanese in the U. S.

- A. Allowed complete freedom as in peacetime.
 - B. Excluded from strictly military areas such as docks, dams, military installations, etc.
 - C. Subject to curfew restrictions.
 - D. Removed inland to the central states with no other restrictions.
 - E. Removed to closed areas to be administered like Indian reservations.
 - F. Placed in concentration camps and treated as criminals.
1. During the war Japanese-born aliens should be treated most nearly as indicated by letter ——— above.
 2. During the war American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be treated most nearly as indicated by letter ——— above.

POSTWAR TREATMENT OF JAPANESE. Here are four alternatives for the postwar treatment of Japanese.

- A. Allowed to return to pre-war status and recompensed for any financial losses.
 - B. Released from all wartime restrictions (but not recompensed).
 - C. Relocated on reservations like Indians.
 - D. Deported.
1. After the war Japanese-born aliens *should* be treated as indicated by letter ———.
 2. American citizens of Japanese ancestry *should* be treated as indicated by letter ———.
 3. I *predict* that after the war Japanese-born aliens will be treated as indicated by letter ———.
 4. I *predict* that American citizens of Japanese ancestry will be treated as indicated by letter ———.

We shall omit at this time a number of cross comparisons, a detailed analysis of responses according to the sociological characteristics of the respondent, and reference to factual information responses.

The sample consists of 2,647 completed questionnaires of which the Middle West comprised 1,048 and the Pacific Coast 804. Samples from other regions were relatively too small to permit detailed statistical comparison. Rank analyses demonstrated that the Middle West sample almost always appeared in the median position, and it is most representative of our non-Pacific Coast samples. All the questionnaires were administered

in college classes and for the most part in elementary classes in sociology and psychology.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

We have presented in Table I and Figure 1 attitudes of the two regional samples toward American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese-born aliens. As was expected a sharp distinction was made between attitudes toward American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese-born aliens on both the Pacific Coast and in the Middle West. This is true for all the specified relationships. A similar, though somewhat less sharp, distinction was made between American citizens of Mexican ancestry and Mexican-born aliens. (See Table I and Figure 1.) Here we have an instance of the ideologies of democracy overriding, at least on the verbal plane, competing racist concepts. Note especially the distinction made between American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese-born aliens in respect to citizenship in the U.S.A. In the controversial question of exclusion the same tendency is observable.

In regard to attitudes toward American citizens of Japanese ancestry, in all but two instances the Middle West is significantly³ more favorable than the Pacific Coast. In occupational contact the critical ratio is 1.47 and in the visitor category it is 1.84. Attitudes toward Japanese-born aliens are not sharply differentiated; at the 1 per cent level there are no significant differences between the Middle West and the Pacific Coast. In the marriage and exclusion categories we find critical ratios of 2.01, just below the level of significance.

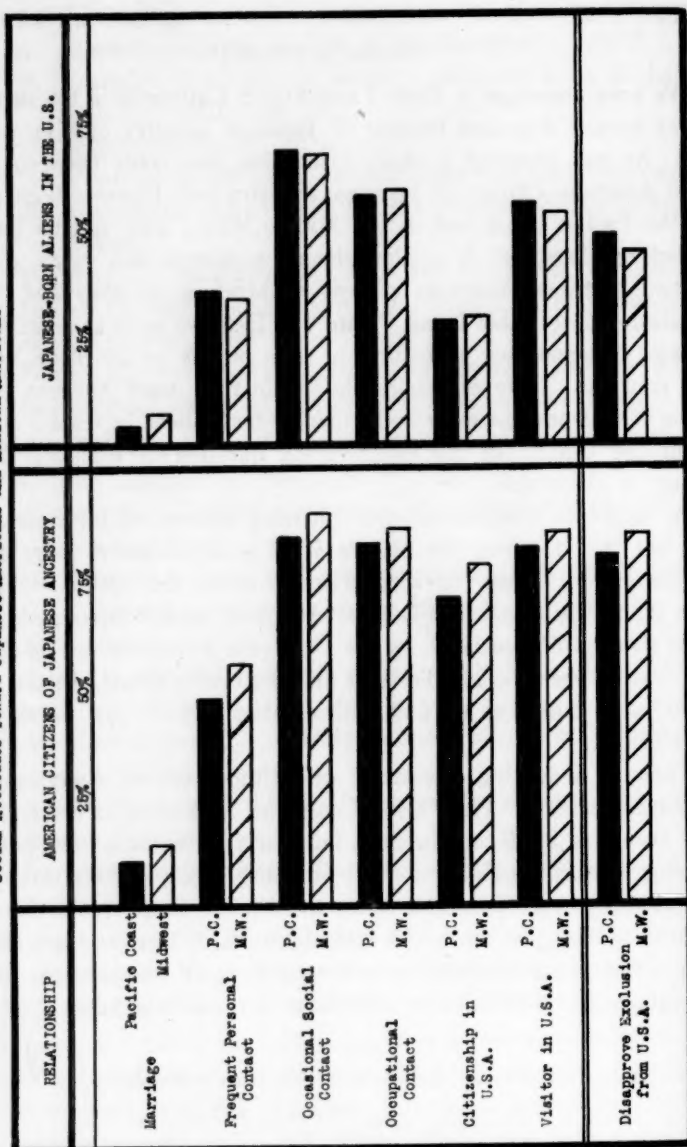
There is a striking uniformity of attitudes toward American citizens of Mexican ancestry. The Pacific Coast and Middle West are equally and highly favorable in all but the most intimate relationships. The percentages approving frequent personal contact are fairly high, but the Middle West is significantly more favorable than the Pacific Coast (66.6 per cent as compared to 59.2 per cent). In attitudes toward Mexican-born aliens, the Pacific Coast is significantly more favorable in all but the two most intimate categories, in which the differences are not significant. Within the

³The familiar formula for significance of differences was used:

$$D/s_D = D / \sqrt{\frac{p_1 q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2 q_2}{n_2}}$$

Unless otherwise specified, the 1 per cent level of significance has been chosen, i.e., $P \leq .01$, and $D/s_D \geq 2.33$

Figure 1.
Social Attitudes Toward Japanese-Americans and Mexican-Americans



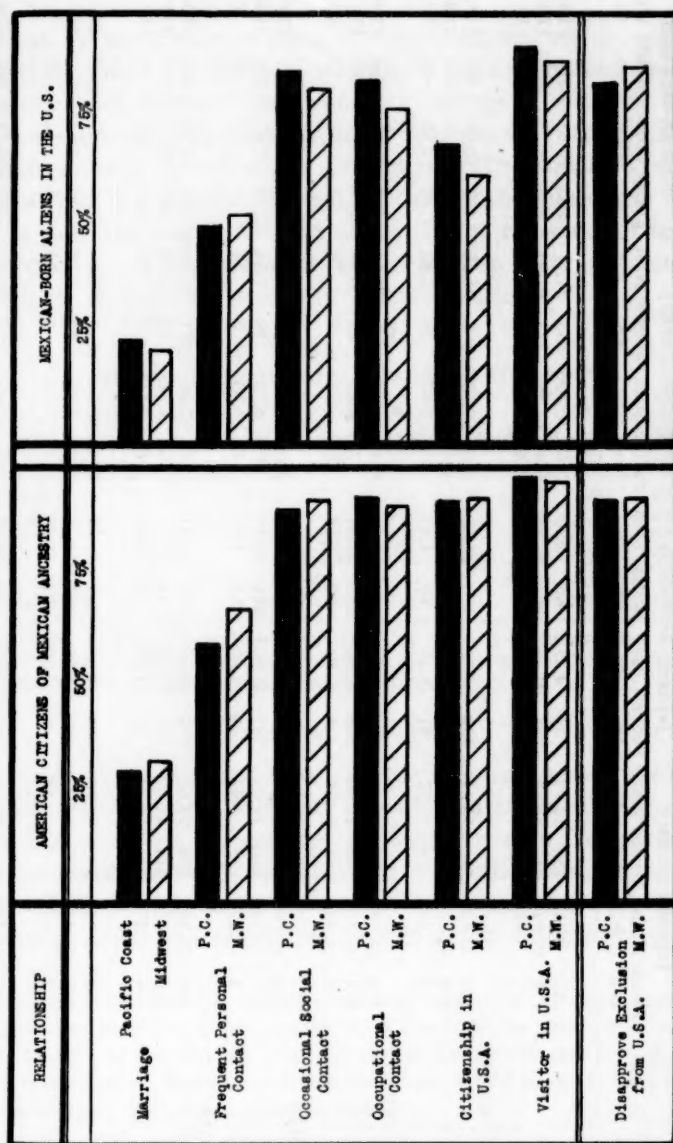


TABLE I
SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPANESE-AMERICANS AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS

Relationship	American citizens of Japanese ancestry						American citizens of Mexican ancestry						Mexican-born aliens					
	Pacific Coast			Middle West			Pacific Coast			Middle West			Pacific Coast			Middle West		
	No.	%		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%	
Marriage																		
Approve	67	8.33	134	12.79	34	4.23	66	6.30	246	30.60	333	31.77	190	23.63	224	21.37		
Disapprove	731	90.92	911	86.93	758	94.28	972	92.75	544	67.66	712	67.94	598	74.38	808	77.10		
Omitted	6	.75	3	.29	12	1.49	10	.95	14	1.74	3	.29	16	1.99	16	1.53		
Frequent personal contact																		
Approve	383	47.64	580	55.34	288	35.82	350	33.40	476	59.20	698	66.60	402	50.00	563	53.72		
Disapprove	416	51.74	462	44.08	505	62.81	679	64.79	308	38.31	324	30.92	383	47.64	449	42.84		
Omitted	5	.62	6	.57	11	1.37	19	1.81	20	2.49	26	2.48	19	2.36	36	3.44		
Occasional social contact																		
Approve	678	84.33	935	89.22	551	68.53	708	67.56	735	91.42	972	92.75	694	86.32	856	81.68		
Disapprove	124	15.42	110	10.50	248	30.85	330	31.49	67	8.33	68	6.49	107	13.31	180	17.18		
Omitted	2	.25	3	.29	5	.62	10	.95	2	.25	8	.76	3	.37	12	1.15		
Occupational contact																		
Approve	668	83.08	897	85.60	464	57.71	614	58.59	750	93.28	964	91.98	672	83.58	817	77.96		
Disapprove	133	16.54	146	13.93	332	41.29	421	40.17	50	6.22	78	7.44	126	15.67	222	21.18		
Omitted	3	.37	5	.48	8	1.00	13	1.24	4	.50	6	.57	6	.75	9	.86		
Citizenship in U.S.A.																		
Approve	564	70.15	824	78.62	232	28.85	303	28.91	745	92.66	973	92.84	553	68.78	647	61.74		
Disapprove	236	29.35	221	21.09	559	69.53	734	70.04	58	7.21	70	6.68	244	30.35	387	36.93		
Omitted	4	.50	3	.29	13	1.62	11	1.05	1	.12	5	.48	7	.87	14	1.34		
Visitor in U.S.A.																		
Approve	661	82.21	895	85.40	444	55.22	562	53.63	785	97.64	1017	97.04	739	91.92	918	87.60		
Disapprove	140	17.41	147	14.03	352	43.78	467	44.56	17	2.11	27	2.58	60	7.46	122	11.64		
Omitted	3	.37	6	.57	8	1.00	19	1.81	2	.25	4	.38	5	.62	8	.76		
Exclusion from U.S.A.																		
Disapprove	652	81.10	893	85.21	390	48.51	459	43.80	748	93.03	976	93.13	669	83.21	916	87.41		
Approve	141	17.54	138	13.17	392	48.75	562	53.63	52	6.47	61	5.82	124	15.42	113	10.78		
Omitted	11	1.37	17	1.62	22	2.74	27	2.57	4	.50	11	1.05	11	1.37	19	1.81		

categories of citizens and aliens, Mexican-Americans are considerably more favored than Japanese-Americans.

It may be worthwhile to point out one additional set of comparisons in the attitude data. The Pacific Coast sample tends to express a preference even for the alien Mexicans over American citizens of Japanese ancestry. In only one category, citizenship, is slight⁴ preference for American citizens of Japanese ancestry over Mexican aliens shown. The Middle West, on the other hand, does not share the antipathy. Only in the category of marriage is there a clear favoring of Mexican aliens. In the categories of occasional social contact, occupational contact, and citizenship there are clear differences in favor of American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

TABLE II
PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH JAPANESE AND MEXICANS*

Personal Contacts	Japanese				Mexicans			
	Pacific Coast	Middle West	Pacific Coast	Middle West	Pacific Coast	Middle West	Pacific Coast	Middle West
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Close friends	225	27.99	56	5.34	184	22.89	99	9.45
Casual acquaintances	518	64.42	465	44.38	500	62.18	467	44.57
Never met	46	5.72	522	49.80	96	11.94	478	45.60
Not given	15	1.87	5	.48	24	2.99	4	.38
Total	804	100.00	1048	100.00	804	100.00	1048	100.00

*Note that we have summarized here the most intimate response given in the personal contacts series and that we have classified as "casual acquaintances" those replying "business associates" and "servants and employees."

PERSONAL CONTACTS

In Table II we give a summary of the data on personal contacts reported with Japanese and Mexicans. In addition to casual acquaintances we have lumped under this category responses for business associates and servants or employees. We felt that the distinction was not sufficiently clear or real to merit separate treatment. No attempt was made to distinguish between aliens and native born in this section because the more inti-

⁴Since these differences are between responses to separate questions made by the same sample, and these proportions are probably correlated, i.e., individuals manifesting attitudes toward one minority are likely to express similar attitudes toward the other minority, a measure of significance of the differences would have to make allowance for the correlation. The proper formula would be:

$$D/s_D = D/\sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{n_2} - 2r P_1P_2}$$

The point seemed not to justify the labor involved in calculating the correlations.

mate relationships would be governed by an age group factor which would practically preclude the association of college-age persons with *issei*. The Pacific Coast had more contacts with both Japanese and Mexicans than the Middle West and somewhat more with Japanese than with Mexicans. Fifty per cent of the Middle West sample had no contact with Japanese and 46 per cent had no contact with Mexicans.

Now that considerable numbers of American citizens of Japanese ancestry have attended Middle Western universities and moved to Middle Western cities, notably Chicago, another compilation of comparable data would be interesting. Despite the stigmatizing of Japanese-Americans by the press on the Pacific Coast, 28 per cent of the Pacific Coast sample reported Japanese as close friends.

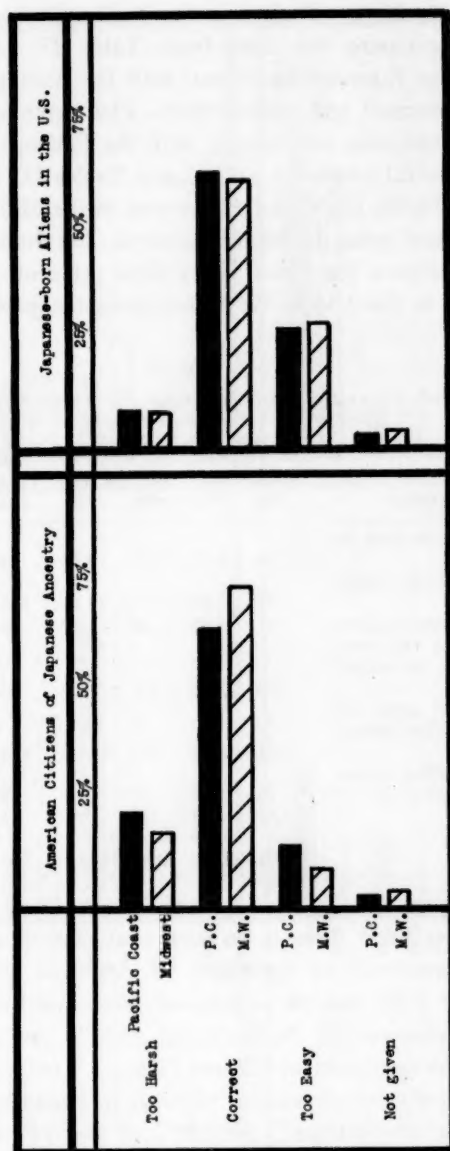
WARTIME TREATMENT OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS

We shall analyze here the responses directly pertaining to the wartime treatment of Japanese-Americans. Two bodies of data are pertinent. Items number 1 and 2 in the section *Japanese in the United States*, and the section *Wartime Treatment of the Japanese*. The most notable feature of the former data is the respondents' strong agreement with governmental policy. (Table III and in simplified form Figure 2.) On the Pacific Coast 63 per cent designated the governmental treatment "correct" for American citizens of Japanese ancestry, and the same percentage endorsed the policy for Japanese-born aliens. In the Middle West the corresponding figures were 73 per cent and 61 per cent. Both regions had a greater tendency to regard the treatment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry as too harsh, and the treatment of Japanese-born aliens as too easy. Note in Figure II that

TABLE III
EVALUATION OF GOVERNMENT TREATMENT OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS

	American citizens of Japanese ancestry				Japanese-born aliens			
	Pacific Coast		Middle West		Pacific Coast		Middle West	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Brutally undemocratic	47	5.85	38	3.63	12	1.49	18	1.72
Hasty and harsh	125	15.55	130	12.40	49	6.09	61	5.82
Correct	510	63.43	769	73.38	505	62.81	636	60.69
Too easy	84	10.45	67	6.39	184	22.89	251	23.95
Stupidly indulgent	21	2.61	20	1.91	36	4.48	52	4.96
Not given	17	2.11	24	2.29	18	2.24	30	2.86
Total	804	100.00	1048	100.00	804	100.00	1048	100.00

Figure II
Evaluation of Governmental Treatment of Japanese-Americans



the responses in regard to American citizens of Japanese ancestry show a greater tendency to be polarized in the Pacific Coast sample.

When we compare the data from Table IV, *Wartime Treatment Recommended for Japanese-Americans*, with the findings just reported, we find both reinforcement and contradiction. The recommended treatment for Japanese aliens coincides very closely with the judgment about the correctness of governmental treatment. (Compare Tables III and IV.) Sixty-one per cent on the Pacific Coast and 58 per cent in the Middle West designated "removal to closed areas to be administered like Indian reservations" as the desirable treatment for aliens. Sixty-three per cent on the Pacific Coast and 61 per cent in the Middle West designated the governmental treatment "correct."

TABLE IV
WARTIME TREATMENT RECOMMENDED FOR JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Recommended Treatment	American citizens of Japanese ancestry				Japanese-born aliens			
	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%
Allowed complete freedom as in peacetime	50	6.22	204	19.47	4	.50	7	.67
Excluded from strictly military areas	195	24.25	377	35.96	112	13.93	242	23.09
Subject to curfew restrictions	47	5.85	66	6.30	23	2.86	40	3.82
Removed inland to the central states with no other restrictions	190	23.63	139	13.26	99	12.31	59	5.63
Removed to closed areas to be administered like Indian reservations	267	33.21	219	20.90	488	60.70	610	58.20
Placed in concentration camps and treated as criminals	16	1.99	7	.67	46	5.72	61	5.82
Not given	39	4.85	36	3.44	32	3.98	29	2.77
Total	804	100.00	1048	100.00	804	100.00	1048	100.00

On the other hand there is no such neat correspondence between the judgment of correctness of treatment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry (Table III) and the treatment recommended (Table IV). Although 63 per cent on the Pacific Coast and 73 per cent in the Middle West thought the treatment of citizens "correct," only 33 per cent and 21 per cent respectively recommended "removal to closed areas to be administered like Indian reservations." Six per cent and 19 per cent respectively recommended "complete freedom" for citizens and 24 per cent and 36 per cent respectively recommended "exclusion from strictly military areas."

We had assumed that "removal to closed areas to be administered like Indian reservations" would be interpreted as the practice which has actually been followed. The discrepancy between the judgment of correctness and the recommended treatment is awkward. Lacking a filter question which would enable us to measure the degree of information, an embarrassing omission, we are unable to say what part of the discrepancy is due to ignorance, what part to semantical obfuscation, and what part to sheer inconsistency. In view of the close correspondence of judgments with respect to aliens, the only apparent explanation is misinformation about the actual treatment of American citizens. Some publicity had been given to the efforts to enroll American citizens of Japanese ancestry in Middle Western and Eastern colleges. This may have been seized upon as evidence of differential treatment of aliens and citizens, but we are not satisfied that this entirely accounts for the difference.

ESTIMATES OF LOYALTY OF "MOST" JAPANESE-AMERICANS

The estimates of loyalty of Japanese-Americans comprise an interesting feature of the complex of attitudes. We have separated the attitudes toward American citizens of Japanese ancestry from those toward Japanese-born aliens, and in addition we have introduced the opportunity for the respondents to make judgments on Japanese-Hawaiians. The summary of the findings is presented in Table V and Figure III. Note that the respondents were as willing to make judgments about Japanese-Hawaiians as they were to make judgments about continental Japanese-Americans.

As was expected, citizens were regarded as more loyal to the U. S., aliens more loyal to Japan. A fairly small proportion of the respondents

TABLE V
ESTIMATES OF LOYALTY OF "MOST" JAPANESE-AMERICANS

	American citizens of Japanese ancestry				Japanese-born aliens			
	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%
In Continental U. S.								
Loyal to Japan	138	17.16	113	10.78	439	54.60	496	47.33
Neutral	93	11.57	134	12.79	143	17.79	196	18.70
Loyal to U. S.	524	65.17	742	70.80	149	18.53	305	29.10
Not given	49	6.09	59	5.63	73	9.08	51	4.87
In Hawaii								
Loyal to Japan	285	35.45	308	29.39	557	69.28	688	65.65
Neutral	146	18.16	200	19.08	97	12.06	137	13.07
Loyal to U. S.	316	39.30	479	45.71	91	11.32	163	15.55
Not given	57	7.09	61	5.82	59	7.34	60	5.73

regarded neutrality as a likely condition. In the case of each population, the Middle West estimated higher incidence of loyalty to the U. S. and a lower incidence of loyalty to Japan, but there were no significant differences between the Middle West and the Pacific Coast in estimating the incidence of neutrality. The most striking feature of these findings, however, is the remarkable difference in estimated loyalty of the continental as compared with the Hawaiian population. Whereas 65 per cent of the Pacific Coast sample and 71 per cent of the Middle West sample thought most continental citizens loyal to the U. S., the corresponding figures for the Hawaiian citizen group are only 39 per cent and 46 per cent. The same pattern is evident in the estimates about Japanese-born aliens. Nineteen per cent of the Pacific Coast sample and 29 per cent of the Middle West sample thought most continental aliens were loyal to the U. S., but for Hawaiian aliens, the figures are 11 per cent and 16 per cent. Judgments with respect to loyalty to Japan and estimates of neutrality reinforce this general picture. In other words, the Hawaiian populations are regarded as more loyal to Japan and less loyal to the U. S., although both categories of citizens are regarded as more loyal to the U. S. than either category of aliens. In the light of the mass evacuation of Japanese-Americans on the continent but not in the Territory of Hawaii, this inversion of estimation of loyalty acquires ironic significance.

POSTWAR TREATMENT⁵

In Tables VI and VII we have presented the responses on the postwar treatment which was recommended for citizens and aliens and that which was predicted. It is striking that both Pacific Coast and Middle West

⁵The National Opinion Research Center reported in *Opinion News* for January 23, 1945, responses to the following question: "After the war, do you think the Japanese living in the United States should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job?"

	Total College %	Total Midwest %	Total Pacific* %	Total %
Yes, give all Japanese an equal chance	26	18	14.7	16
Yes, if loyal American citizens	29	22	19.4	21
No, whites first chance	44	58	62.9	61
Undecided	1	2	3.0	2

*The Pacific breakdown is from information in an NORC letter dated February 8, 1945.

The above information is given to enable the reader to compare college with non-college totals and Pacific with Middle West samples in another study.

TABLE VI
POSTWAR TREATMENT RECOMMENDED FOR JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Recommended Treatment	American citizens of Japanese ancestry				Japanese-born aliens			
	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%
Allowed to return to prewar status and recompensed for any financial losses	326	40.55	457	43.61	134	16.67	161	15.36
Released from all wartime restrictions (but not recompensed)	337	41.91	461	43.99	281	34.94	433	41.32
Sub-total	663	82.46	918	87.60	415	51.61	594	56.68
Relocation on reservations like Indians	48	5.97	49	4.68	38	4.73	61	5.82
Deported	62	7.71	27	2.58	317	39.43	355	33.87
Not given	31	3.86	54	5.15	34	4.23	38	3.63
Total	804	100.00	1048	100.00	804	100.00	1048	100.00

TABLE VII
POSTWAR TREATMENT PREDICTED FOR JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Treatment Predicted	American citizens of Japanese ancestry				Japanese-born aliens			
	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%	Pacific Coast No.	%	Middle West No.	%
Allowed to return to prewar status and recompensed for any financial losses	198	24.63	347	33.11	75	9.33	97	9.26
Released from all wartime restrictions (but not recompensed)	491	61.06	567	54.10	387	48.14	479	45.70
Sub-total	689	85.69	914	87.21	462	57.47	576	54.96
Relocated on reservations like Indians	47	5.85	55	5.25	50	6.22	77	7.35
Deported	30	3.73	35	3.34	243	30.22	341	32.54
Not given	38	4.73	44	4.20	49	6.09	54	5.15
Total	804	100.00	1048	100.00	804	100.00	1048	100.00

samples recommended in more than 40 per cent of the replies that American citizens of Japanese ancestry be allowed to return to pre-war status and be recompensed. Even for aliens more than 15 per cent of each sample recommended the same treatment. If we combine the figures we find that 82 per cent of the Pacific Coast sample and 88 per cent of the Middle West sample feel that the sanctions against American citizens of Japanese ancestry

should not continue beyond the war. The corresponding figures for Japanese-born aliens are 52 per cent and 57 per cent respectively. Very small numbers recommended deportation of American citizens, 8 per cent of the Pacific Coast and 3 per cent of the Middle West. For the aliens the figures are 39 per cent and 34 per cent respectively. Although these are large percentages, they are considerably smaller than the non-aggressive recommendations.

The differences between recommendations and predictions are most marked in the percentages expecting compensation. In the two non-sanctional categories, return to pre-war status with or without compensation, a smaller percentage in each category predicted compensation than recommended it, but the combination of these two treatments totals about the same. For both recommendations and predictions "relocation on reservations" received a uniformly low proportion of responses.

We have presented above in summary form the expressed responses of college students to a variety of questions about Japanese-Americans. The responses afford a qualitative view of a series of socially meaningful judgments about a most controversial war and minorities problem. They also suggest a consistency or lack of it which may characterize the social judgments held by a relatively well-informed segment of the population. Despite the generally more antagonistic attitudes expressed by the Pacific Coast sample as compared with the Middle West the findings reveal no such single-minded bitterness as was and is proclaimed by the proponents of the evacuation.

SOCIOMETRY AND THE PRESENT EMERGENCY IN THE EUROPEAN PEACE

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New York City

INTRODUCTION

The eyes of all the world are focussed at this moment upon armies of the United Nations occupying German territory. Among them, thousands of sociologists, social psychologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists are looking on, with more or less complete passivity. Social scientists are powerless, but if they would have the authority to determine social policy, would they have any notion or plan to offer?

This passivity seems to be in contradiction with the public debates on peace and post war plans. One cannot deny the noble character of the Atlantic Charter or underestimate the clever schemes as to how to deal with Germany in order to prevent its resurgence to military power. But their architects built the House of Man from the top down instead of from the bottom up. As we have occupied Germany, the problem of how to treat its population becomes a social issue of first rank. Let us quote here some of the points of the Potsdam agreement* on Germany: a) turning the German people from an industrial to an agricultural nation; b) dismantling all the potential war-making industries; c) forbidding the re-armament of Germany.

Besides the rules of the agreement now enforced which are influenced by the idea that the problem can be solved by technological shifts in power, there were proponents who suggested plans which were based on gross sociological changes: a) the transformation of Germany into a concentration camp, a nation of paranoiacs treated by psychiatrists, or a nation of misfits re-educated by psychoanalysts; b) the break-up of Germany into as many provinces as there were before Bismarck united them; c) giving the power of government to the anti-nazi Germans, the social democrats and liberals; d) giving the power of government to the catholic and protestant churches; e) giving the power of government to a committee formed by German prisoners in Soviet Russia to form German Soviets, or to be at least under remote control of Soviet rule; f) forcing the migra-

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tion of millions of Germans away from Germany, especially of its technological and militaristic nazi components, reducing it in size and character. All these plans are projections of the anxiety which this war has produced, but they have little value in themselves. They have in common that *the social dynamic factors operating in the inter-individual and inter-group relations of the German population itself are left out of consideration.*

Now let us examine how sociologists, social psychologists, psychologists, psychiatrists are approaching this emergency. Some of the researches made in the fields of social organization, social stratification, propaganda analysis, measurement of morale, the study of minorities, of racial and religious tensions, etc., are invaluable. The trouble with these studies is that they are carried out in a comparative vacuum, at too great a distance from the situations which are in immediate need of adjustment and to which the findings could be applied. Social research for its own sake is useless except to a diminutive minority of social science readers. Social action for its own sake is equally useless. One should work hand in hand with the other. It is deplorable that thousands of commendable fact-finding social researches currently published and daily buried in the morgues of our libraries, will be unknown a few years hence except to one or two historians. Who will ever be able to resuscitate these masses of data from their ashes and give meaning to them? The probabilities are that they will perish like the many lives that have been lost on the battlefields.

The approach of sociometrists to the present emergency is, however, more satisfactory and related to the strategic situation. Generalizations on the basis of findings in one community cannot be mechanically applied to another. But all the one hundred or more sociometric studies made in the United States bring us closer to the problem on hand, that of the German population, itself.

SOCIOMETRIC ORGANIZATION OF GERMAN COMMUNITIES

What do these reflections mean, in terms of the event of the armies of the United Nations occupying Germany? We heard a few months ago that allied troops entered Beggendorf, a German community near the Dutch border, so and so many were taken prisoners—because of their nazi affiliation. We heard that a certain man was appointed burgermeister, another was made chief of police, or that some of the old functionaries were permitted to continue in office. It is immaterial whether such reports were accurate, but it is here that sociometric procedures should have been applied. Each community must be investigated in its concreteness and not as a symbol or a mass.

The instruments of investigation to be used should be sociometric and allied procedures. The first step is that each individual is required to choose or reject his associates on the basis of all criteria operating in the community.

This is the key situation for the sociometric scientist: the first community into which the allies enter should be sociometrized on the spot. The total population, as it breaks up into factories, agricultural farms, churches, schools, recreational units, not leaving any person out, and not including any person who is not a part of the community, selects, on this basis, the burgermeister and the chief of police, the leaders and the sub-leaders of the community, the ministers of the churches, the teachers in the schools, thus breaking up political gangs as soon as they are uncovered. The repetition of sociometric tests at regular intervals is essential to follow up the constant process of regrouping in the community and to select new leaders and sub-leaders in accord with the findings. All cultural, political and social institutions can become, by such means, true expressions of the population tested, as the factors of tradition are bound to emerge and to be reflected in the findings. They become open to correction and to revision from the point of view of a system of values which seems to be imperative to the conquerors as to the supreme interest of the world at large, and to the best interest of the German population itself. The supplementing of the local sociometric findings in Germany with sociometric data in this country, and combined with data on morale, propaganda, public opinion, etc., obtained by other methods, should produce a formidable index of reference for actual application.

ROLE TRAINING OF POTENTIAL LEADERS

But spontaneity of the choice process can become deteriorated to a degree that the natural process of regrouping takes a pathological turn or comes to an apparently incorrigible, dead end. Sociometric tests executed in prisons and reformatories revealed that the highest number of choices were regularly given to individuals who had made an outstanding record in anti-social activities (as sexual delinquents, thieves, burglars, etc.) and that individuals who had reformed or wished to reform remained unchosen or were rejected by the majority. It became clear to sociometrists that unless this process could be reversed, the introduction of the values cherished in the outside community would be an impossible task. As a solution to this dilemma, as demonstrated in *Who Shall Survive?*, regrouping and retraining of individuals have to go hand in hand. Regrouping and retraining of key individuals became a *conditio sine qua non*, especially in

communities where the process of regrouping had come to a comparative standstill. As these key individuals already in a position of power were non-cooperative and deceitful, efforts made with their retraining had to be abandoned in many cases. It was the retraining of the *non* leader, the sociometric isolate, or the potential leader who is found sociometrically rejected, which offered a methodical alternative. The individual to be retrained was first placed in a series of situations and roles in which he portrayed on the psychodrama stage the experiences which ultimately landed him in prison, and second a series of situations and roles which brought about a craving for reorientation of values and a desire to reform. As soon as the diagnostic facts about him were established a program of retraining could be formulated. The situations and the roles for retraining were selected from the community in which he lived at the time, situations which were crucial in the reformatory and which determined the influence he could exercise upon others. The retraining was carried out in a group, all the individuals who appeared to be sensitive, potential material, forming it. Parallel with their retraining sociometric tests were given at regular intervals. It was possible to discover changes in structure, the isolates and rejected ones ascending gradually to better sociometric positions, the former key individuals losing in status and moving towards the periphery positions in the sociogram.

The project of transforming a reformatory into a socialized community has many parallels to the political education for democratic process of an autocratically ruled population like the German.

REVERSAL OF THE QUISLING TECHNIQUE

We sociometrists have frequently pointed out that sociometric principles have been used intuitively by practical statesmen and political leaders without any knowledge of sociometry as a method for social investigation. A typical example is the phenomenon of the *quisling*. The quisling fulfilled a function in the group which was of sociometric significance. On the surface it seemed that the quislings were merely individuals in sympathy with the nazi system of values. It was logical therefore that they would be chosen as nazi representatives. However, in the communities into which the nazis entered in their victorious march were many more individuals than the chosen ones who sympathized with the nazi system. The question is: what made the individuals actually selected for the role of quisling particularly fit for the task? It is interesting to note that the nazis, as if endowed

with a keen sense for sociometric verities, chose individuals who were often comparatively political nonentities, disliked and rejected by the regular members of the community. The choice of the quisling was therefore justified from the point of view of sociometric effects. The regular burghers in Norway, the Netherlands or Belgium would have been unwilling to cooperate with the nazi rulers and therefore were unsafe associates. In the reformatories above we had a similar problem to face, although in *reverse*. The psychological power was in the hands of the irregulars, the persistent deviates and chronic delinquents. It is among the isolated and rejected ones that we occasionally found an individual who wanted to reform. Just as the nazis, although for opposite reasons, we turned to the powerless and rejected idealists in the group. What the quislings and they have in common is the *same sociometric status*.

There are many current problems which sociometric studies as presented in this paper can elucidate. Allied armies have entered German communities which are entirely or largely indoctrinated by nazi principles and sentiments. Is there any sociometric or psychodramatic instrument available which could be used in an effort to change their attitude? Every effort is faced with an iron set of roles cast to order. Every sociogram of these communities would probably show a persistency of psychosocial structure towards Nazism from retest to retest. But *the quisling technique can be reversed*. There may be in every German community a number of individuals, Germans who crave for a style of living in total contrast with that of the nazis. Men who have lived in hiding, in contact with underground groups, but who might appear in a sociogram as non-leaders, isolated and rejected. It is with the aid of such men that a rejuvenation of the German community could begin.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The question may be raised: "Beggendorf is a single community. There are perhaps one hundred thousand of such communities in Germany. Each community has some invisible cultural bonds relating it to thousands of other communities. There are some communities which are far more complex than others. Huge industrial plants and cultural organizations can not be easily analyzed on the spot. And lastly, there is an existing, deeply-entrenched psycho-social structure which the nazis have built in their years of prosperity. How does one break these up?" There are many other questions like these. Some questions no one can answer. Of one thing I am certain, to let things happen in a fatalistic fashion, as if nothing can be

done and Nature must take its course, is bound to encourage the recapitulation of a similar chain of events in Germany as heretofore. A well calculated system of social action operated with discretion cannot be but of advantage. Parallel with taking one community militarily, it should also be organized sociometrically. Like a General who has his plan of battle prepared and moves from point to point unflinchingly, we can make our plan of battle. Here is the geographic map of Germany. Federal sociometrists could work hand in hand with the military authorities, and map out psycho-geographic charts of every community under allied control. A few years ago* we examined in behalf of a similar plan, the socio-geographic map of the United States and said: "A method which has proved of invaluable usefulness in one hundred specific situations may reasonably be expected to be equally useful—or more so—in one million specific situations of the same kind. Even as large a population as that of the United States consists of nothing but millions of small groups, each with a definite atomic structure, and each as open to direct sociometric attack as the hundred situations already profitably studied. The educational enlightenment which has without exception resulted in the members of every group which has to date been sociometrized—an awareness of the structure of the immediate group to which each member belongs and his position with regard to it—is an important first step towards gaining mastery and control of the invisible, subversive, forces which hypnotize and befuddle the populations in every part of the world."

We have found that the maximum group which can efficiently be handled by one full-time sociometric worker is 1,500 to 2,500 people. This figure may represent the entire population of a given village, or merely a fraction of a metropolitan district, the personnel of a factory or the population of a public school. This apparently large coverage on the part of a lone sociometric worker is the result of one of the cardinal sociometric experiences: the sociometrist almost automatically finds himself in every group with volunteer assistants sufficient to lighten his work greatly and increase his range of effectiveness, in proportion. The probability of resistance coming from certain fractions of the German population in each community would recommend a considerable increase of sociometrists per capita, one worker to 500 or 600 people. Therefore, an army of at least 100,000 sociometrists should be formed to meet the requirements of the size of the present German population. The method is easily teachable. The large contingency of

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social workers from which we can draw could be made the kernel. They would have to speak the German language and besides having the knowledge of sociometric and psychodramatic procedures, would have to be imaginative and bold individuals, ready to extend the technique to the demands of a situation and, if necessary, to invent new techniques, as long as they are in the spirit of sociometric theory. The largest number of workers should be drawn from the German population to which sociometric and psychodramatic methods are to be applied. Sociometry is an objective approach to community organization. But such an objectivity can only be obtained if the social resources of restoration of the German population itself are utilized to the maximum. The preponderance of imported social workers might easily encourage autocratic and police-like behavior and distort the principles upon which sociometric methods are based.

It is not yet too late. The remarkable and almost miraculous energy of the American democracy may again surprise the world in turning blue-prints like this plan into a living reality.

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THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOMETRY TO INDUSTRY*

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In a certain large industrial plant the management was progressive and had attempted to conduct its affairs in the most up-to-date fashion. Production was watched with the aid of the most modern cost accounting system. Wages and salaries were determined by job evaluation and merit rating. The employees welfare was protected by pension plans, hospitalization and surgical plans, employee social organizations, and an efficient personnel department. The concern was well organized, and the management had a system of reports which enabled the managers and executives to keep tab on nearly all changes that occurred from day to day. Unfortunately with all the above devices the officials felt they were not maintaining the degree of morale among the employees at a higher than average point. This was evident since the employees called a general strike on several occasions. These strikes and minor morale upsets happened at times very unexpectedly in spite of all the scientific reports which the management had. None of the reports seemed to indicate when or why the trouble occurred. The major factors of employee morale were scientifically controlled. These factors had to do with wages, bonus, vacation, etc. The company is functioning today apparently with its management resigned to handle its labor difficulties the best it can on a trial and error basis. When the next break in the human relation factor will occur no one can guess. Most of the company officials say it is "just one of those unpredictable headaches that come out of a clear sky".

Dr. J. L. Moreno is the first person to develop a methodology to measure the factor of inter-personal feelings. The methodology is called sociometry and is adaptable to business enterprises as will be explained in this paper. About fifteen years ago he and his associates began testing the methods on various school groups. The results correlated very closely with the hidden life events which occurred within the groups studied. For several years the investigators studied the social structures which existed in a girl's reformatory school in New York State. There were some five hundred girls in this institution living in more than a dozen cottages. A very close correlation was found to exist between the charts made by

*This is a graduate paper prepared for Dr. Elwood Murray, Department of Speech, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado. The names of persons used are fictitious.

Moreno's methods and the social factors of unrest on one hand and co-operation on the other. The charting systems invented by Moreno are called sociograms.

He began also to study and measure the inter-personal feelings of participants in workgroups. For a long time management and labor alike has given lip service to an intangible factor called, for lack of a better term, employee's feelings toward each other. At the roots of a great deal of industrial strife we find this matter of personal feeling, but not until recently have we had any system of measuring this factor. The studies of Rothlisberger and Dixon at the Western Electric Plant brought additional emphasis upon the importance of attitudes of employees toward themselves and their supervisors. This study also brought support to Moreno's contention as to the importance of the informal social groups which exist within the larger formal organization of a business enterprise.

The real value of any scientific methodology lies in its similarity in structure to certain real life facts so that the charts can be used to predict future happenings accurately. Moreno's sociograms were found to have a high degree of predictability, and when used for this purpose were very helpful to the management of the girl's school. The number of personnel relation breakdowns has been greatly reduced. A much higher degree of morale has been established. The supervisors are able to spot trouble before it breaks out into physical disruptions such as riots, etc. In one cottage for example all the girls threatened one girl who was shown on the sociogram to be very unpopular or isolated as Moreno prefers to say. That girl was chased to her room by other girls who were using scissors for weapons. In a steam laundry at the school the cooperation was almost nil. The sociograms spotted the difficulty. The girls were rearranged, and the cooperation and production immediately improved. After this study the methodology has been applied to the seating of pupils in classrooms with a great deal of success. What happens when we apply it to a business enterprise?

In one office at Baur's we have seventeen girls. Three of the girls have only been working in this particular department two months. Previous to that time these three girls worked together for about six months doing the same work but in another part of the plant. All of the remaining fourteen girls have been in the office together for at least two years with one exception. This one girl had been in the office for about five years, but the past year and one half had taken a leave of absence. Management felt it had a very good understanding of the feelings of all the girls. After the present

study was completed, however, this feeling on the part of management was greatly modified because the test showed that management only had a general and hazy knowledge of the girl's feelings. Management had overlooked many of the finer details.

Basically the sociometry tests depend upon two main factors, namely spontaneous choice and feeling. It is the spontaneous feelings within individuals which are important much of the time in undelayed reactions. The spontaneous feelings within a person are shown by free choice. We will spontaneously choose people whom we like. We will tend to build up tension and hate toward persons whom we spontaneously dislike. We are neutral to many persons. Moreno divides these inside-the-skin feelings into three classes namely:

A—Attraction (Like)

B—Repulsion (Dislike)

C—Indifference

The sociogram shows these feelings of attraction and repulsion toward the individuals. The person being scored is represented by the center circle while the other people working in the department are represented by the outside ring of circles.

As with many other personality tests, the Sociometry tests are based on definite criteria. We are interested here in the feelings of the girls about working in close proximity with each other. These criteria get at the basic informal groups which arise out of persons working closely together. For the purpose of this test the girls were asked to choose the first five persons they would prefer to work with closely. Moreno seems to feel that three choices are sufficient to show the feelings toward the best liked persons in any social group. We are interested in only the best liked persons in this part of the test and if seventeen choices were given and the girls asked to choose in order all seventeen, most of the girls in the group would receive many choices. It is important to remember that we want to get at the spontaneous feelings of the workers. The spontaneous feelings are the ones which show up when the feelings come to a head in the form of human relation breakdowns such as strikes, arguments, harsh words, and so forth. These personal feelings are generally very closely guarded by individuals and the utmost confidence is needed on the part of the interviewers if they hope to get accurate answers. A great weakness of self analysis tests lies in the fact that if the confidence of the persons being interviewed is not obtained, the persons will answer the questions in the way they feel they

will benefit most in light of personal advancement or in the eyes of either management or fellow workers. Experience has shown that if the interviewers are honest in their statements to the workers telling them the real reasons for the test a high degree of cooperation will be received. The sole purpose behind this test is to better the cooperation and working morale in the groups being studied. Each worker and manager should be first sold on the benefits to be derived from the tests. It is of the utmost importance for the interviewers to have the confidence of both workers and managers. Therefore the test had best be conducted by the personnel department providing the personnel department has a reputation with the employees and management of being fair in all cases. Unfortunately many personnel departments have not been able to meet this requirement because in the past they have been only a tool of management to exploit the workers. As will be seen later sociometric tests show leadership in its truest form and any management that has used coercive methods to exploit its workers will be in for a shock when the results of such tests are shown. Scientific management on the other hand, objective in its outlook and eager to get at the bottom of industrial conflicts, will find the results most helpful. If the personnel department does not enjoy the confidence of the employees or management then it is better to bring in an outside tester.

A worker's feelings can only be measured in connection with his work. We cannot separate a worker from his job, test him, and expect any correlation between the results of the test and the performance on the job. This was a mistake frequently made by the early industrial psychologists and engineers. Just the other day an industrial engineer made the statement that he was about to give up the use of the Dexterity Test after using it for ten years on a certain job. He felt that the correlation between the test results and the actual performance was not close enough to warrant further use. On further questioning this man revealed that he is giving a standardized Dexterity Test in his office and measuring results which he is later comparing with the results of workers on a production line. He, of course, overlooked the all important factors which were brought to light so well by Rothlisgerber and Dixon. A worker's production is greatly influenced by his attitude toward his job. This attitude in turn is dependent on a constantly changing personal feeling of the worker toward his job, his fellow employees, his supervisors, his outside social contacts, etc. We cannot split the man from his job, we must think in terms of "man-job". In this test, therefore, the girls were all asked how they felt about working directly across a desk with certain other girls, or as it is stated

on the test sheet, "in close proximity". It was explained to the girls that working in close proximity meant working across the desk and not in an opposite corner of the room. It would also appear from such a test that it is impractical for managers to give the tests themselves since the employees would not likely give their true feelings if they felt it was in any way jeopardizing the future of their jobs. This would especially be true if an attempt were made to get at the feelings of the workers toward management.

To determine the number of choices the girls were first asked to fill in the first test sheet, Figure A. They were asked to write down whom they would choose to work with first best, second best, third best, fourth best, and fifth best. Opposite each choice they were asked to make a brief statement as to why they were motivated to the choice. The tests were all coded and dated so that the final results could not be interpreted antagonistically against certain individuals when later shown to the employees. The reasons for showing the results to each girl privately will be taken up at the end of this paper.

FIGURE A

EMPLOYEE'S CODE YEARS EMPLOYED IN DEPARTMENT

You now work in a certain department with certain other persons according to the directions of the Company. The persons who work with you in the same department are not the ones chosen by you. You are now given the opportunity to choose the persons with whom you feel you would like to work in *close proximity*.

You may choose without restraint any individuals of this company whether they happen to be in the same department in which you work or not.

Write down whom you would like first best, second best, third best, fourth best and fifth best.

SOCIOMETRIC TEST

Choices	Name of Person	Motivation (Why?)
First Choice		
Second Choice		
Third Choice		
Fourth Choice		
Fifth Choice		
Date		

After the girls filled in the First Choice Test they were given the second test or Spontaneous Feeling Test, Figure B. In this test the girls were asked how they felt about working in close proximity with each other girl in the office. If they spontaneously thought they would like to work directly across a desk from each girl, they were to check the "YES" column. The answer, they were told, was not "Yes" if they felt they would not mind working across the room from each other. The important feeling had to do with working in close proximity. In both tests the girls were allowed to choose other employees outside their particular department, but not outside the business. If the girls felt they did not like to work closely to any particular girl they were to check the "NO" column indicating a rejection. Any type of negative emotional feeling was to be checked "NO". If the girls did not know each other well enough to form an opinion they were told to check the "INDIFFERENT" column. After each expression of Spontaneous Feeling the girls were asked to state their motives for accepting, rejecting, or indifference.

From the above two tests each girl's feelings toward the others as

FIGURE B

EMPLOYEE'S CODE	DATE			
How do you feel about working with:	Yes	No	Indifferent	What motives have you for accepting or rejecting her?
Margaret
Rose
Fanny
Lillian
Sylvia
Margaret
Helen
Judith
Julie
Madeline
Florence
Kay
Lorraine
Mary
Shirley
Ruth
Frances

well as all the others toward her were summarized on individual sociograms. The sociograms were mimeographed so that they could be used for all other departments at a later date. In this particular paper the reader will have to be aware of a slight change in plotting of results. In Moreno's original work the Attractions are shown in red while the Repulsions are in black. In this paper the Attractions are shown in black while the Repulsions are plotted in heavy black. Since the precedence has been set by Moreno, however, it may be best in the future to follow his original plan.

In order to determine if there was any relation between the social feelings of the girls and their general personality measured in terms of egocentricity, introversion, extroversion and objectivity they were all given the Miller-Murray Personality Test. In the experiment of one test of only seventeen individuals, all of whom have relatively high intelligence and personality rating, no correlation of any significance was found to exist. This finding must be taken lightly since many factors may have influenced the results on the personality scores. For example it may be that some of the girls answered the questions on the Miller-Murray Test in terms of the way the girls felt a well integrated person should respond rather than in terms of the way they really are as individuals. This does not seem likely since the Miller-Murray Test has been checked against these influencing factors and correspondingly adjusted. Another reason why it does not seem likely is because the results of both the Sociometry Test and the Miller-Murray Personality Test correlate very closely with the real feelings and personalities of the girls and checked by both the writer and the Office Manager who have worked with the girls for the past five years or more. The personality tests seem to be of extreme importance in testing applicants for future work in the office since the type of work calls for a high degree of objectivity and above average introversion. Extroversion to too high a degree without objectivity does not seem desirable for this type of work and egocentricity appears to be a factor which, if great, will lead to disruption of morale and cooperation and also retard progress toward improved functioning of the general departmental operation and efficiency.

In analyzing the results of the Sociometry tests given to this experimental group we will discuss each one separately, arranging the girls in order of number of Rejections from the other girls, from least to most. As we do this we can point out the value of the tests to management as well as their value as a tool to improve employee morale.

Only one girl out of the seventeen is entirely free from any Repulsions.

That girl is Mary, a young girl with a pleasing personality. She is in her early twenties, just learning office work, and has only been in the office about one and one-half months. Her personality score shows her as a well balanced person perhaps slightly high in introversion, but not above average in comparison with the other sixteen girls. Her feelings are favorable toward all the girls excepting two. One of the girls whom she is indifferent toward has not been in the office since Mary started to work. The other Mary says she does not know well enough to give an opinion of. Slightly more than one-half of the girls are indifferent toward Mary, and Mary has received only one out of a possible sixteen choices, and this choice is a third choice. The choice was given her by another girl who was just recently moved into the office. The motivation given for the third choice toward Mary was:

"I just like her because Mary is herself."

As was found to be true in practically all the tests, Mary's choices were nearly all toward girls who liked her. A mutual attraction is extremely important to morale and good cooperative leadership. Here we see the first factor of significant value to industrial management. If two individuals are mutually attracted toward each other there is little danger of spontaneous discord arising between them. To management it indicates that the highest type of morale is in existence.

The large number of Indifferences have two major significant meanings to management. First it clearly shows that in this particular case management has been lax in introducing the new girls to the older ones in the office. There is no set formal procedure of acquainting newer girls with the older ones socially. This important factor had been overlooked by management chiefly because "it had never been done in the past". The second factor of significance in the Indifference lies in the danger that when these feelings crystalize, they may crystalize into Repulsions. If that occurs in any great numbers at approximately the same time a lowering of morale is sure to result. Mary is somewhat shy and since office work is new to her it would appear that the changes are favorable to the other girls building up negative feelings toward her. She herself may begin to feel out of place. The only way to prevent this from happening is for all the girls to get to know Mary personally rather well. Perhaps it could be done best if the girls had a semi-formal monthly social and business get-together. This factor until the Sociometry Test was given was not nearly so obvious. Another possibility of so many Indifferences lies in the danger connected with inferences that will be drawn by the girls if

Mary should come into disfavor with one of them. If people are acquainted with someone they are not so apt to believe gossip as much as they would if that person was not known. We all tend to stick by our friends more than by strangers.

Kay is a part time employee who has just been moved into the office from another department. Her personality score shows her as a well integrated person. She is a college student, and appears well liked by the girls she worked with before as well as the ones she comes into close contact with in her present work. She dislikes one of the girls whom she has only been acquainted with two months. This girl in turn is indifferent to her and gives as a reason for her indifference, "I do not know her at all." Kay's reason for rejecting No. 11 is, "Nothing personal, but the other girls have more work because No. 11 does not do hers." The attitude expressed by Kay is similar to one maintained by several older girls in the office toward No. 11. Both Kay and No. 11 admitted that they did not know each other well. Kay's attitude is an inference drawn from the attitude of the other girls. Moreno calls such effect a "tele effect". Through this Tele Effect feelings of Rejections and Attractions are carried from person to person. Moreno calls it "The psychological pressure exerted upon a person by the population." The "tele effect" sometimes runs in chains and can be traced on Sociograms when all the members of a given group are plotted together on one sheet. This was not done in the present study since we are only interested in rating the individuals. The "tele effect" is important to management since it can be instrumental in causing serious breakdowns in morale especially in crystalizing the Indifferent attitudes. Again we see a case here with Kay that can be helped if the members of the group were better introduced to each other by some social means so that each one of them could make their evaluations of the other members based on actually knowing the others personally. Kay's lack of any of the possible sixteen choices would also indicate that she is not well known by any of the girls in the office. Working only half time might be a major factor causing no choices.

Margaret appears to be a well integrated and adjustable person. She is middle aged and has a fairly well balanced Personality Score. She is, however, the third of the girls just recently moved into the office and one who did not work in the office previously. Margaret did have more contact with the Main Office in the past six months, however, than the other two, Kay and Mary. Even though she is new to the group she received three choices. She is attracted to everyone and says she likes all the girls. Mar-

garet is rejected by only one girl who says she is a bit too sensitive. Oddly enough the Rejection comes from one of the girls with whom Margaret worked before being moved to the Main Office. It is tentatively planned to repeat the Sociometric Test in the office each six months. The feelings at the time of the next test toward Margaret will verify how Objective No. 8 was in her analysis toward Margaret. If Margaret gets more Rejections because she is annoyingly sensitive she will eventually tend to isolate herself. Should that be indicated at the time of the next test it is hoped that Margaret will be objective enough to correct her handicap if it is pointed out to her.

Perhaps at one time or the other the reader has wondered just what the reaction of management will be to the suggestion that a test of this sort be given. The manager who is perhaps dictatorial or who gets results by underhanded methods will rightly fear the results of a sociometric test. The chances are that autocratic managers will want to be measured only in monetary profit results. Long term survival is dependent on more than monetary profits, it depends on genuine cooperative leadership. With true leadership goes a high degree of morale and a progressive manager will welcome a test of this type because he knows how important it is to have mutual cooperation of all his employees. He will welcome knowing about any Repulsions that exist and the reasons for their existence. Knowing these will enable him to further improve the morale of his department. To be able to use the results of the Sociometric Tests the managers must be highly objective in their approach to the problems of their work.

Madeline is the manager of the office and she has almost a perfect Sociogram for a leader. She has mutual attractions with all her employees. Madeline rejects only one of her employees giving as her reason, "She makes me nervous, but one probably could not find a better worker." Madeline has a well balanced Personality Score perhaps a little high in Introversion which may account for her attitude toward this one worker. The attitudes of workers toward their leaders is perhaps the most important factor determining industrial conflict. It is interesting to note also that Madeline has received the greatest number of choices. The scores of leaders whether they be Supervisors, Foremen, or Managers cannot be compared directly to those of the employees because there will be a greater hesitancy for the employees to express Repulsion toward a leader than toward a fellow employee. Also the leaders stand the greater chance of knowing a larger number of employees. Thus the leaders are not as apt to have feelings of Indifference toward them.

The Sociogram of Florence shows also a well adjusted employee since most of the Indifferences are the result of not knowing the other person well enough. The two Repulsions she received are not serious at this point since they are not mutual. The significant factors in Florence's sociometric status are all similar to those already explained and the reader can make a good analysis of this individual. ✓

Ruth shows another well adjusted person with the exception of her three Repulsions which seem to correlate with the high Introversion Score of 95. Apparently her Repulsions are caused by intentional thinking on her part. The Repulsions of Ruth are explained by such phrases as: "Kind of childish", "Do not think she is very sincere", "Practical jokes too much". Ruth's Objectivity is lower than many of the girls, but not below average, and she is above average in times chosen.

Lillian seems to verify the conclusion about Ruth. Both girls have the attractions of all the other girls, both express three Repulsions, and both have a high Introversion of 95. Lillian was not certain in expressing her motivations for her Repulsions, and next day said that after thinking it over decided she did not have any feelings against any of the girls. This explanation seems to indicate intentional thinking connected with the high introversion.

Julie, Marjorie, Fannie, and Helen all seem to fall in the same category as the last mentioned girl. All are high introverts and appear to radiate Repulsions because of a certain amount of intentional thinking. Since none of the Repulsions are mutual no serious danger seems to be indicated at this time. Most of these girls high in introversion did express some concern to the interviewer as to what the other girls' feelings were towards themselves. Nearly all the high introverts felt certain that many of the other girls in the office had some feelings against them. The Sociograms show clearly that with only one or two exceptions the high introvert girls were all well liked by the rest of the girls in the office. This is the only factor shown by the Sociograms which seemed to correlate with the Personality Tests.

The single serious exception to the correlation is in the Sociogram of Lorraine. Lorraine is the Assistant Manager of the office. She has as many Free Choices as Madeline, the Manager, and is liked by all the girls. Her Repulsions may and may not come from good evaluation. This, of course, will be verified by later Sociograms. It does seem that Lorraine is the logical girl to be Assistant Manager and next in line for job of Manager.

Frances was away on leave of absence at the time of the tests and

Madeline
Employee's Name

Date March 1945

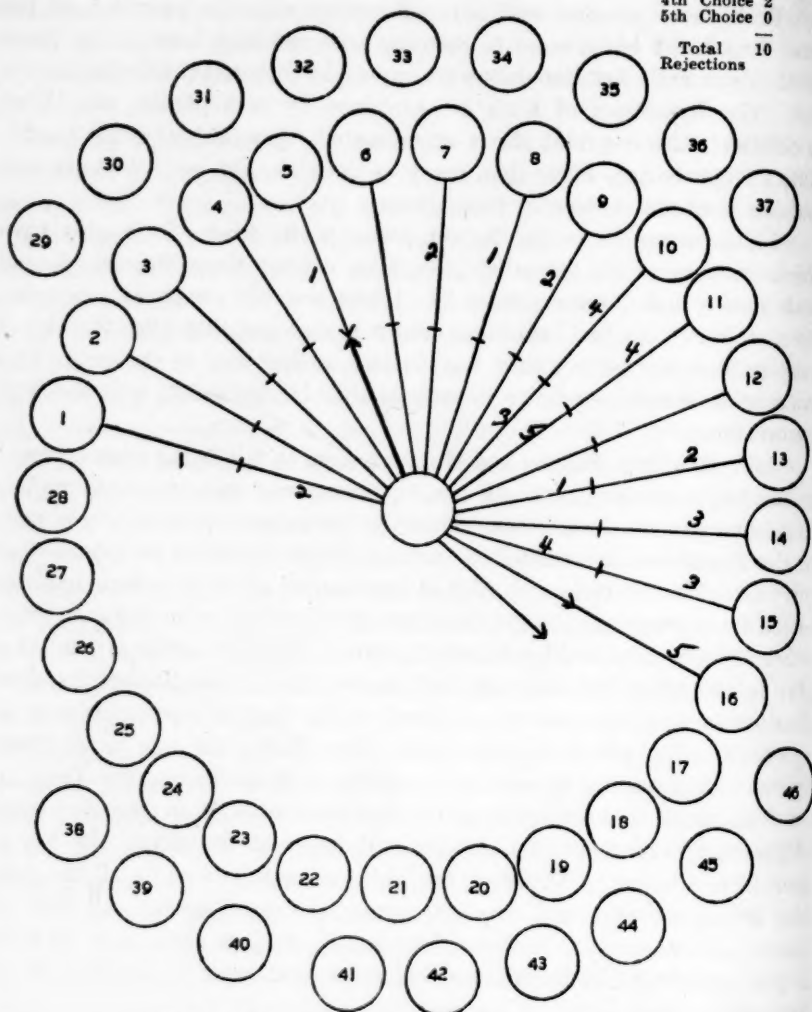
SOCIOGRAM I

E.I. 51-60 O.I. 81-90 Objectivity 71-80 Extroversion 11-20
E.E. 11-20 O.E. 51-60 Egocentricity 21-30 Introversion 90

Office
Department

Personality Scores

Number of Times Chosen
1st Choice 2
2nd Choice 4
3rd Choice 2
4th Choice 2
5th Choice 0
Total 10
Rejections



Shows spontaneous feelings NOT necessarily antagonistic.

→ Attraction
→ Mutual

→ Indifference
→ Mutual

→ Repulsion
→ Mutual

therefore her reactions are not included. Obviously she is well liked and the chances are that the Attractions are mutual. The three girls showing Indifference toward Frances had come into the office after Frances left. Here it can be seen that the Sociograms can be very helpful in determining whether an employee who has left the organization should be allowed to return or not. Oftentimes there is a great amount of resentment against employees who leave work and return. The resentment does not show up till after the employee begins work and then management is faced with the difficult task of regaining high morale.

Rose has just recently returned to the office. Her Sociogram shows no serious mutual Repulsions. One of her Repulsions is definitely due to "tele effect".

Out of the seventeen girls only three were found to be in the danger zone as potential threats to the general morale of this office group. Each of the three girls represent entirely different personality pictures but still each has the similarity of potential danger.

Shirley happened to be away on a leave of absence also and thus it was not possible to get her Personality Test or Spontaneous Feeling Test. The eight Repulsions were a great surprise to both the writer and the office manager. Shirley has a very pleasing personality, and is considered one of the "brightest" girls in the office. It is well to list some of the motivations against Shirley:

"Gets on my nerves. Acts as though she knows it all."

"Nice, but would not work across from her. A little gruff at times."

"Nice personality but jokes too much. Could not concentrate if working near her."

"Talks too much."

"Nothing against the girl. Inclined to cut up too much. Works well."

"Practical jokes too much."

It appears that Shirley's only problem is her untactful sense of humor. This is apt to make a hit at first but may disrupt morale later which apparently is what is beginning to happen here. Although this was suspected it was not realized by management that the problem had reached such a serious state. When Shirley returns she will be given a Personality Test. If she shows high Objectivity, the chances are her problem can be pointed out to her and she will be more tactful with her jokes in the future. If Shirley is not very Objective in her outlook it is safe to assume that here is a situation which soon will greatly influence the general morale in the office.

Judith is one of the oldest employees in the office. She tries to be extremely nice to all the girls, but has an alarming number of Repulsions. None of the Repulsions are mutual. The motivations for the Repulsions should be noted:

"Like her personally, but she makes me nervous."

"Too nervous. Works too hard at her machine."

"Kind of a griper. Gets on my nerves. Like her personally."

"Too temperamental."

"Makes me nervous, but probably could not find a better worker."

"She irritates me."

"She gripes too much."

The answer to Judith's problem lies in her Personality Score. She is the only girl in the group exceptionally high in Egocentric Introversion. The comments about Judith are typical for a person high in Egocentric Introversion. This is a very difficult problem to improve from a psychological point of view. A person of her nature is very trying on the morale of any group as is clearly shown by the Sociogram. The best approach is through a screening process of giving Personality Tests before the person is employed. If a person of high Egocentric Introversion is hired it should be for a job where he or she cannot influence the morale of very many other employees.

Sylvia is the third girl who shows potential danger to the general morale of the group. This girl is one of the youngest in the group. She has been in the office for two years, but is still Indifferent to nearly one-half of the girls. Her Personality Score seems to indicate a well integrated person, yet the Sociogram seems to indicate the opposite. The feelings shown by the Sociogram correlate with management's analysis very closely. Some of the motivations against Sylvia are as follows:

"Do not speak to her for personal reasons. Tried once but it didn't work."

"Just don't like her. Too affected. Don't think she is what she tries to make out."

"She is the type who thinks she is a little better than the others."

"She plays too much."

"Personality good, but she gets on my nerves. She puts on too much."

"Do not think she is very sincere."

It will be noted that Sylvia has a very high objectivity score of 95. If this is true it is likely that management can sit down with Sylvia and explain her problem, and help her better evaluate her attitudes which others

SOCIOGRAM II

Sylvia
Employee's Name
Date March 1945

Office
Department
E.I. 21-30 O.I. 81-90 Objectivity 95 Extroversion 41-50
E.E. 1-10 O.E. 81-90 Egocentricity 1-10 Introversion 51-60

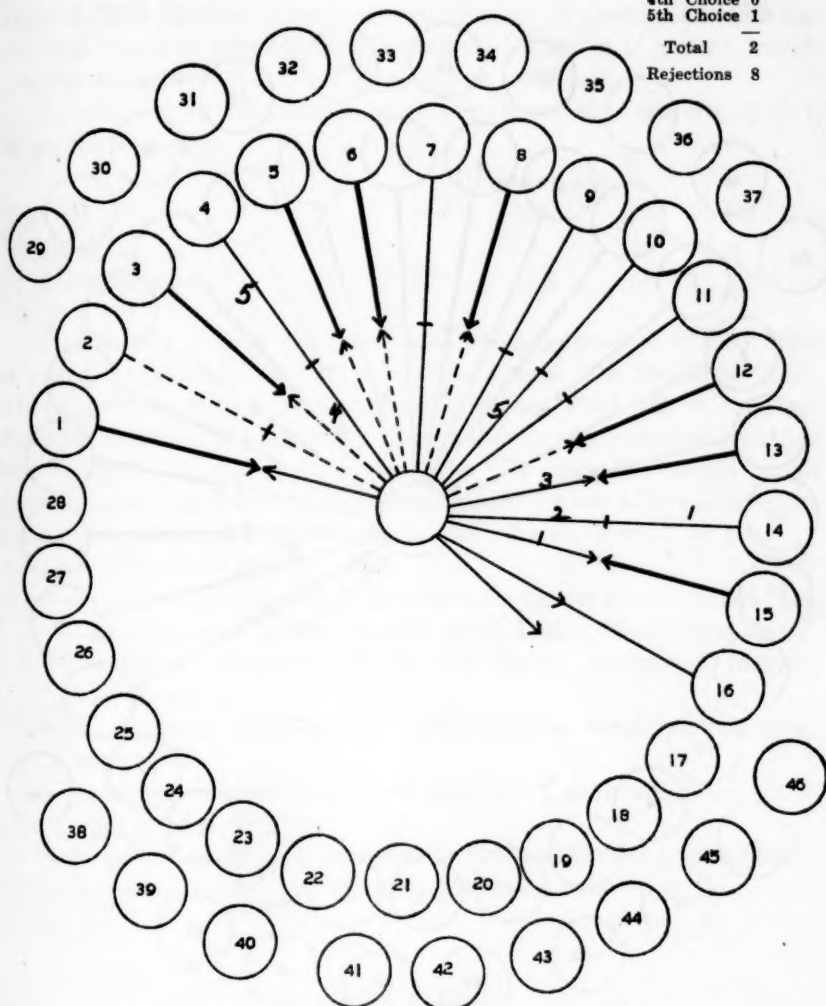
Personality Scores

Number of Times Chosen

1st Choice 1
2nd Choice 0
3rd Choice 0
4th Choice 0
5th Choice 1

Total 2

Rejections 8



Shows spontaneous feelings NOT necessarily antagonistic.

→ Attraction
= Mutual

..... Indifference
..... Mutual

→ Repulsion
= Mutual

SOCIOGRAM III

Judith
Employee's Name
Date March 1945

E.I. 95 O.I. 31-40 Objectivity 31-40 Extroversion 11-20
E.E. 21-30 O.E. 41-50 Egocentricity 61-70 Introversion 90

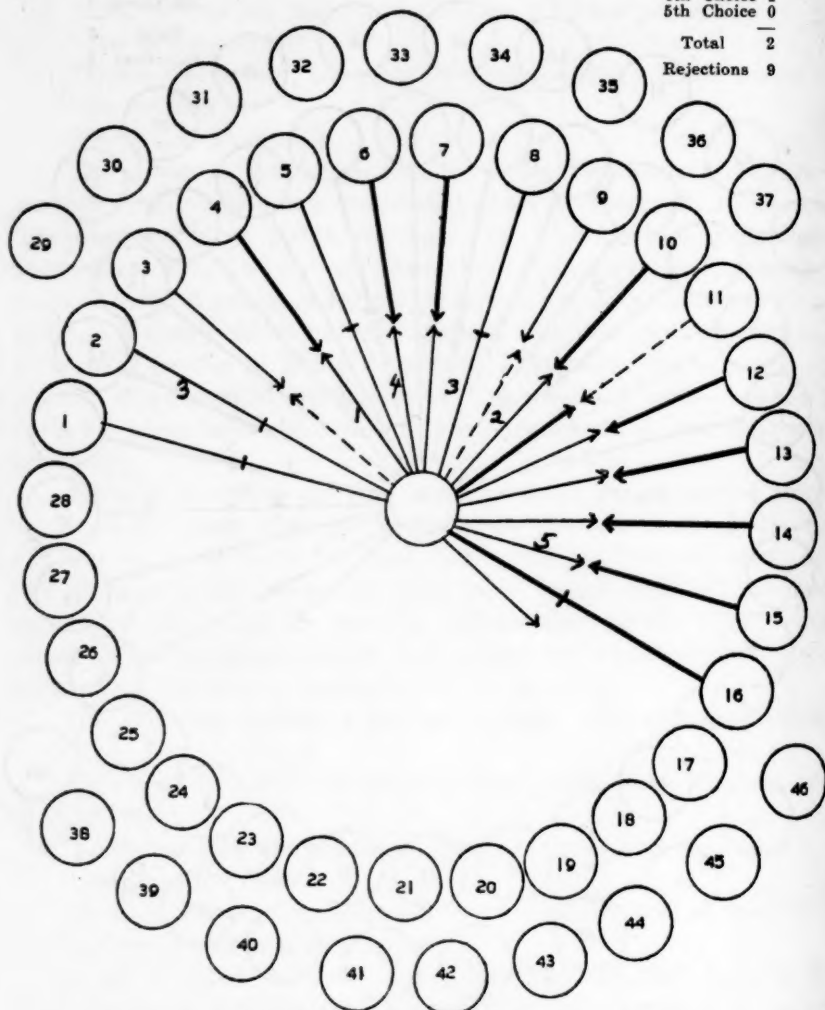
Office
Department

Personality Scores

Number of Times Chosen

1st Choice 0
2nd Choice 0
3rd Choice 1
4th Choice 1
5th Choice 0

Total 2
Rejections 9



Shows spontaneous feelings NOT necessarily antagonistic.

→ Attraction
Mutual

..... Indifference
..... Mutual

→ Repulsion
Mutual

interpret unsatisfactorily. Perhaps the girls are right in their judgments and Sylvia has answered the Personality Test in such a way that it would make the best possible showing for her. Sylvia does dress and speak more "elegant" than most of the other girls, and because of her work does enjoy some privileges that most of the other girls do not have. Regardless of the causes of this particular girl's isolation, the situation is serious and warrants the immediate attention of management. A situation like this can grow into a serious personal conflict problem. Where it is present, morale is bound to be lower than could otherwise be possible.

In summarizing the number of girls unchosen after the five choices, we get the following:

	Unchosen after:				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Number	8	5	3	1	1
Percentage	47%	30%	18%	6%	6%

I have tried to show the possibilities which sociometric methods have as a practical means of measuring employee morale. The Sociometry Tests attempt to show feelings between people, feelings which are at the basis of morale, isolation, and leadership. The soundness of the method itself has been verified by Moreno and his associates. The research reported in this paper indicates that the method is a practical one for use in industrial enterprises. In conclusion I might summarize the industrial uses of the tests:

- 1—A method for testing morale.
- 2—A method of determining the intangible factors of cooperation, getting along with people, etc., for Merit Rating, Bonus, etc.
- 3—An aid to management in selecting leaders, supervisors, foremen, and managers.
- 4—A means of recording how individuals are socially adjusting to their jobs.
- 5—A method of determining and locating the informal groups which exist in all enterprises.
- 6—A method of locating the social factors which affect production.
- 7—A method to rate management's leadership abilities.

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DEFINING PRESTIGE RANK IN A RURAL COMMUNITY¹

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Several groups and institutions in rural society have been considered especially significant by students of rural life. In early rural America the family and neighborhood were the centers of group life while in recent years special interest groups have gained increased significance. The question may be raised as to the importance of recognizing social stratification in analyzing the rural community. In this paper a method which might be employed in such an analysis is described.

It has been observed that in societies of any complexity not all persons are treated as equals by their fellows. Some individuals are more respected; their behavior has more value or *prestige* than have the actions of others. The question may be asked as to whether or not the members of a rural community recognize and agree as to the relative prestige rank of their fellows.² In this study of a New York rural community 14 persons were selected to rank the families in the community in terms of their prestige.³ Several aspects of this rating procedure are presented.

In this article major emphasis is given to an interpretation of the rating procedure on the basis of characteristics possessed by the persons rated. In addition, the selection of the prestige judges and statistical procedures employed in determining a composite rating are briefly described. In a later paper the ratings of the prestige judges will be described in terms of their social positions in the community. Also, the prestige rating procedure

¹This paper is based on data from a research project conducted by the author and sponsored by the Department of Rural Sociology and the Agricultural Experiment Station of Cornell University during the years 1940-42. This study was under the general supervision of Professor Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. A previous publication on this project is by the writer and is entitled *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Cornell University Agr. Exp. Sta. Memoir 260 (1944).

²Prestige denotes the value that an individual possesses which allows him to be ranked in a hierarchal order. This paper is largely a description of what is implied by the term prestige rank.

³Cf. Schuler, E. A., "Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community," *Rural Sociology*, 5:68-84 (1940); and Lundberg, G. A., "The Measurement of Socio-economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, 5:29-39, (1940). In these studies persons have been ranked on the basis of social or economic characteristics and the rating procedure has been made explicit.

ture will be evaluated as a technique for community analysis by indicating certain of its uses and limitations.

SELECTION OF JUDGES

The population studied was a village centered community in central New York.⁴ Four hundred fifty-five family units⁵ consisting of 1235 individuals were included in the original analysis;⁶ approximately one-half of the persons resided in the village center and one-half in the open country. One-fifth of the population were members of an immigrant group who in this paper are designated as *Oldlanders*. The remainder of the population are called *Yankees*.

Fourteen persons and the writer ranked the families of the community in terms of prestige. More judges would have been employed had the time been available. The attempt was made to select prestige judges which represented all the major groupings in the community. Characteristics considered in selecting prestige judges were prestige rank, ethnic affiliation, age, sex, occupation, participation in the organized life of the community, years lived in the community and residence in the village or in the open country. The extent of the writer's contacts with the various community members was also a factor, although not a purposive one, in the selection of prestige judges.

Prestige judges were instructed to rank the family units in terms of "what people thought of them," "their standing in the community," "their popularity," or as one judge expressed it "their rating in society." These, the writer had discovered, were the folk expressions common in the community which denoted prestige rank. The writer carefully avoided suggesting to the judges any criterion of prestige rank, such as occupation or level of living. During the rating procedure judges gave their reasons for ranking the families as they did. Persons were ranked in 11 classes; these were numbered from 1 for the highest prestige through 1.5, 2, 2.5, 3, etc. to 6 for the lowest rank.

DERIVATION OF COMPOSITE RATINGS

It is necessary that some rating be taken as a basis of comparison in

⁴The field study was made during the latter part of 1940 and the earlier portion of 1941.

⁵Family units include all small families, persons living alone in a household and individuals living in households with non-relatives.

⁶See Kaufman *op. cit.* This publication gives a more detailed description of the research site and field procedures.

analyzing both the rank of the persons rated and the ratings given by each prestige judge. The mean of the ratings given each family head appeared to be the most desirable measure for this purpose.⁷ Four hundred eighteen, or over 90 per cent of the 455 family heads were rated by four or more judges.⁸ These 418 persons constitute the population analyzed in this paper.

After a few deviant ratings were omitted,⁹ the means of the distributions of persons rated were computed and grouped in 11 classes. Each of the prestige classes, except 1 and 6 was designated by its midpoint. The values by which the prestige classes were designated are termed the *composite ratings* of prestige.¹⁰ The interval for class 1 is 1-1.24, class 1.5 is

TABLE 1

PRESTIGE CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE 418 FAMILY HEADS AND THE MEAN AVERAGE DEVIATION OF THE RATINGS OF PERSONS IN EACH CLASS

Item	Prestige Classes											Total
	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	
Number of Persons	10	16	20	27	73	105	94	36	28	6	3	418
Per Cent of Persons	2.4	3.8	4.8	6.5	17.5	25.1	22.5	8.6	6.7	1.4	0.7	100.0
Mean Average Deviations	.28	.62	.66	.69	.50	.49	.63	.78	.75	.52	.35	.59

⁷In over 95 per cent of the 418 distributions with four or more ratings, the mean, median and mode are either the same or do not deviate more than 0.5 of a class from each other.

⁸Over 80 per cent of the 455 family heads had eight or more ratings. The median number of ratings was 10. The mean number of heads ranked by the 14 judges was 340, or 73 per cent of the total of 455.

⁹Ratings were considered to be highly deviant if they varied more than 1.5 classes from the mean and if there were no other ratings in the distribution of this or similar value. Two judges were responsible for over one-half of the highly deviant ratings and their ratings were omitted from the final computation as were the highly deviant ratings of other judges. The composite ratings would have been changed very little, however, even though the highly deviant ratings had not been omitted because the deviant ratings tended to cancel each other.

¹⁰For other methods of giving the ratings of several judges a composite value see Guilford, J. P., *Psychometric Methods*, Chap. IX, (1936).

Prestige classes are designated by numbers and arithmetical processes are employed in deriving a composite rating for sake of convenience. The theory of "interchangeable units" and related hypotheses are not implied. No assumption is made, e.g., that the social distance (whatever this might mean) is necessarily the same between classes 1 and 2 as between classes 4 and 5.

1.25-1.74, class 2 is 1.75-2.24, etc., through to class 6 the interval of which is 5.75-6.

Prestige class distributions of the 418 family heads are shown in table 1. The prestige class distribution is seen to be of the bell-shaped type. Approximately one-sixth of the population is in the four upper prestige classes, two-thirds in the three middle classes and one-sixth in the four lower classes.

The means of the average deviations of the ratings of the family heads are shown in table 1 for each prestige class. The average deviation is considered to be a measure of the amount of agreement among the judges concerning an individual's prestige rank.¹¹ The lower the average deviation the higher is the agreement. The average deviations range from 0.04 to 1.32 prestige classes; the mean is 0.59 class. As is seen in table 1, the highest average deviations were found in prestige classes 1.5-2.5 and 4-5.¹² One reason for the lower average deviations in prestige classes 1 and 6 are that the class intervals are only one-half as great as the other classes. There was also relatively high agreement among the judges as to the rank of persons in these classes.

The amount of agreement among the 14 prestige judges on the total population is revealed by the fact that 11 of the 14 judges have coefficients of correlation from +0.74 to +0.88 with the composite ratings.

PRESTIGE RANK A COMPOSITE STATUS

In the above section the statistical operations in defining prestige rank have been described; in this and the following section an attempt is made to interpret the rating procedure that was followed by the prestige judges.

An individual's prestige rank is determined not by one activity but by a configuration of behavior patterns or social characteristics. In other words, prestige rank is not a single but a composite status. Status may be defined as relative rank in an inferiority-superiority order. One's relative rank in an order or hierarchy is determined by the degree to which he has in his behavior some socially approved and desired attribute. Status, as used here, may refer either to a segment or aspect of behavior, such as the characteristics which make a person "hard to get along with," or to a function in an organized group, such as teacher in the central school.¹³

¹¹An example may serve to illustrate this measure. If a person has 10 ratings, five in class 3 and five in class 4, the mean of the ratings is class 3.5 and the average deviation is 0.5 class.

¹²Prestige classes written, e.g., 1-2.5 are to be read classes 1 through 2.5 inclusive.

¹³Cf. Davis, K., "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological*

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Ten types of status are described below which three or more prestige judges and the writer recognized explicitly in ranking community members in terms of prestige. The first eight status types were stated explicitly or inferred by one-half or more of the judges. Those status types are listed first which varied most frequently and which seemed to be recognized most often in determining prestige rank. Some status types or hierarchies are seen to have had two or more categories or statuses explicitly differentiated, while in other hierarchies the number of statuses is indefinite.

The ten major status types are:

1. Economic status. This was indicated by level of living and apparent income. Four categories were made explicit—well-to-do, moderate means, limited means and indigent.
2. Occupational status. This status was sometimes not differentiated from economic position. The statuses of teacher in the central school, minister, physician, and operators of the larger businesses and farms had high rank. Educational attainment, when apparent, was closely related in the minds of the judges to occupational status.
3. Ethnic status. There were two categories, Yankee and Oldland, with the latter being of lower rank.
4. Status gained from reputed beliefs on political and economic questions. Some members of the Oldland Merchandising Association were regarded to hold highly deviant political and economic views. There were two categories—those who held these views and those who did not. The former suffered a decided loss in prestige.
5. Organizational status. Individuals gained prestige from unusually active participation in the organized life of the community and from holding certain offices and membership in certain organizations.
6. Family statuses. Persons who were known for their marital infidelity, "common law" marriages, or neglect of children suffered serious loss in prestige. Thus, there were two categories—those who conformed and those who broke the family mores.
7. Statuses gained from using, or not using, alcoholic liquors to an excess and addiction to drugs. "Drinkers" were severely condemned by many members of the community.
8. Statuses acquired from the possession of certain personality characteristics as retiring, unfriendly or hostile on the one hand, and open, friendly or helpful on the other. Some persons were ranked definitely lower than

Review, 7:309-321, (1942); and Benoit-Smullyan, E., "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," *American Sociological Review*, 9:151-161, (1944). Benoit-Smullyan regards "prestige status" as defined apart from economic status and political status, while in this analysis these latter two statuses are found to be components of prestige rank.

they would have been otherwise because they were "hard to get along with" or "trouble makers." Also, in a very similar classification were the "just queer," persons of low mentality and those with pronounced psychoses. On the other hand, a few individuals were noted for their extreme friendliness and helpfulness.

9. Clique status. An individual's prestige rank was sometimes influenced by whether or not he had friends of extremely high or low prestige.
10. Kinship status. This is gained from the reputation of one's kinship group, e.g., being a member of a "leading family" or of a "no-account family."

In addition to statuses of low rank just described, a few persons suffered a definite loss in prestige because they had been convicted of law violations.

It should be emphasized that the statuses described above are those considered by the judges as determining prestige rank. More sophisticated analysts might have made a more detailed and conceptually neat classification. The economic, occupational and ethnic statuses seemed to be the most obvious to the prestige judges and were probably the most easily learned. This is not to say, however, that the presence or absence of these statuses would have changed an individual's prestige rank more than would have certain other statuses. It is likely that at least one-sixth of the 418 family heads had a decidedly lower prestige rank than their economic, occupational and ethnic statuses warranted. This was the case because these persons possessed such statuses as holder of radical political beliefs, "drinker," "trouble maker" and other low prestige statuses described above. There were also individuals who had decidedly higher prestige rank than their economic and occupational statuses merited.¹⁴

Two theoretical models of rating procedure may be noted. In terms of one model, prestige ranking is a type of informal multiple correlation. A judge considers several statuses of an individual and from these derives a composite rating. In the other type of procedure a judge ranks an individual in terms of an overall, or composite status which is at least implicitly recognized by other community members. The latter description approximates what seems to have occurred in the rating of a number of the com-

¹⁴Prestige rank is defined in terms of the statuses an individual is regarded to fill rather than the roles (concrete behavior) he plays. For example, the status of minister is given a high prestige rank and that of drunkard a low one regardless of who the individuals are (roles are played) who act in these positions. The same distinction between status and role is used here as that made by Linton in his *Study of Man*, Chap. VIII, (1936), except that in this discussion status is regarded as just one type of social position.

munity members. Judges agreed relatively well on the prestige rank of these persons and rated them without hesitation.

Composite statuses which indicated an individual's prestige rank were characterized by such expressions as "a good farmer," "the leading man of the town" or "a shiftless family." Much more was frequently implied, for example, in the term "good farmer" than proficiency in one's occupation. A configuration of statuses seems to have been designated by such a term. A man who was "a good farmer" was expected to conform to the mores and the laws, to participate to some extent in the organized life of the community and "to get along with his neighbors." If an individual conformed in important respects to this composite status his prestige rank in the community, usually class 3 or 3.5, was well recognized.

CONSISTENT AND INCONGRUOUS STATUSES

Judges seemed to expect that all the major statuses of an individual should have similar prestige value or be consistent with each other with regard to rank. This was the case for a large portion of the population. Prestige judges had difficulty, however, in ranking persons who possessed what might be termed *incongruous* statuses. An incongruous status may be defined as one which has decidedly higher or lower prestige than the other major statuses which an individual fills. A person may have all the important statuses of "a good farmer," except that he consumes alcoholic liquors to an excess or is reputed to have sharp dealings with his neighbors. Excessive drinking and sharp dealing are statuses which are seemingly incongruous, or inconsistent, with other patterns of behavior expected of "a good farmer."

The tendency for all major statuses that an individual fills to have the same or very similar prestige may be termed "status equilibrium"¹⁵ A person has attained "status equilibrium" when his prestige rank in the community is well recognized. On the other hand, those persons who are defined by the community as having one or more incongruous statuses, would from the community point of view be more or less mobile.¹⁶ It would seem that the great majority of persons studied did not possess "status equilibrium" but only approximated it to a greater or lesser extent.

¹⁵This term is used by Benoit-Smullyan, *op. cit.* This writer suggests that "status equilibrium" is more likely to be attained in the less complex and less mobile societies.

¹⁶It would also be necessary to acquire an individual's definition of his social position before his mobile characteristics could be adequately described. The question might be raised whether or not the possession of incongruous statuses might be a source of personality tension and conflict.

It is a matter of degree; some persons possessed highly incongruous statuses and others less so.¹⁷

Persons on which there was relatively high agreement among the judges concerning prestige rank were more likely to be found in classes 1, 3, 3.5, 5.5 and 6. This is indicated by the fact, which is seen above in table 1, that these classes have the lower mean average deviations. On the other hand, there was likely to be less agreement as to prestige rank and the average deviations were higher on ratings for persons in classes 1.5-2.5 and 4-5.¹⁸

Judges most frequently stated or intimated their criteria of prestige in rating individuals who possessed incongruous statuses. A number of persons of this type whose prestige rank was not clearly defined were found in prestige classes 4.5 and 5. "These persons" as one judge stated, "lack something which a good substantial citizen has." This particular judge ranked most of "the good substantial citizens" in prestige class 3 with relative ease, but rating the individuals who "lacked something" was a more difficult procedure. Some statuses possessed by persons in classes 4-5 who were difficult to rate were (1) drunkenness, (2) unlikeable or "hard to get along with" personality, (3) illicit sex behavior, (4) inability to support one's family and (5) low mentality or psychotic behavior.

If an individual was "a general no-account" he was easily placed in the lowest class. The judges agreed that there were a few persons of this type in the community. But the person who possessed both the statuses of "the substantial citizen" and behavior with a definite negative value was much more difficult to rank. Some raters did as one judge described in referring to his ranking of some individuals in classes 4-5: "I've been plenty easy on a lot of these people." Other statements of judges which indicated incongruous statuses were, "he is a fine fellow but—," or "a hard man to place because—."

There was high disagreement among the judges concerning the relative prestige rank of most members of the Oldland Merchandising Association. The mean average deviation for the members of this group was 0.91 prestige class as compared with 0.59 class for the total population. Most members of the Merchandising Association group were regarded as "highly substantial persons" except for their deviant beliefs on certain political and

¹⁷The average deviation might be regarded as crude measure of the degree to which an individual approximated "status equilibrium."

¹⁸There are other factors, however, than the statuses of persons rated which account for disagreement among judges. These will be described in a later paper.

economic questions. The composite rank of most of these persons was prestige classes 4 or 4.5. In most cases this was likely to be from 1 to 2 classes lower than it would have been, had the individuals not have possessed these deviant beliefs.

There were two types of individuals in classes 1.5-2.5 whose prestige rank seemed difficult to determine. One was the older individual who was formerly very active in community affairs but now had retired. The other type of person was the younger individual who was rising in prestige. Some judges ranked these younger individuals high because of their education, family name, and the possibility that in the future they would hold the leading positions in the community. Other judges did not regard these qualifications so highly and consequently ranked these younger persons lower in prestige. This was an indication that prestige standing in the community depended to a larger extent on one's achievements than on his kinship ties.

Although there was a relatively high disagreement among the judges on the prestige rank of some persons, these individuals were placed within a limited prestige class range. Prestige class 4.5, e.g., had the highest mean average deviation for any of the classes. Yet 97 per cent of the ratings given to persons in this prestige class fell within the range of classes 3-6; only one judge gave any ratings outside of this range. Sixty per cent of the ratings fell within the range of classes 4-5.

Only a part of the disagreement among the prestige judges is to be accounted for in terms of the prestige of the statuses of persons rated. Considerable variation in the ratings is a result of the biases and inadequacies of the judges themselves. Differences among the judges in their rating procedures will be discussed in a later paper.

"SYNTHESIS" IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Sociological pilfering on the part of psychology is not a new form of scientific delinquency. It has long been condoned as at least a necessary evil, exonerated under the euphemism "social psychology". Sociologists themselves have not been free of complicity in the crime since Giddings in the 1896 preface to his *Principles* confessed his belief in sociology as a psychological science and proposed "to direct attention chiefly to the psychic aspects of social phenomena." By now the conspiracy has all but been made licit in the name of "synthesis in the social sciences."

Two of the ablest protagonists of this endeavor—Dr. Linton and Dr. Kardiner—have been collaborating in print on the matter for a number of years. They have achieved what both believe to be a significant integration of two separate fields of social science, anthropology and psychology; or more specifically, culture and psychoanalysis. In this enterprise Dr. Kardiner, a medical doctor and former student of Freud, has assumed the role of senior theoretician. Six years ago he announced the attempt to "join the resources of psychology and those of sociology",¹ and in his most recent volume² he is engaged in the same task. The authors' claim has been strengthened. Linton, in his foreword, voices confidence that there is a new science of human behavior emerging from a synthesis of the older and more specialized disciplines, and Kardiner's opening sentence deplors the fact that "there is today no discipline which can be called a science of society; there is only a group of social sciences, each of which has become isolated and self-contained."

In his latest study Kardiner reapplies what he terms his operational tool, *basic personality structure*, to the analysis of three more cultures. They are the Comanche, the ethnographic material for which is supplied by Linton; the Alorese, data for which are compiled chiefly from Du Bois'

¹Abram Kardiner: *The Individual and His Society*, Columbia University Press, 1939.

²Kardiner: *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois and James West; Columbia University Press, 1945. Kardiner also contributed the section "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure As an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences" to *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Ralph Linton; Columbia University Press, 1945.

People of Alor;³ and Plainville, an American Ozarks survey based on the descriptive account of James West.⁴

Kardiner insists repeatedly that his work is primarily a contribution in methodology ("it describes and perfects a technique") and from that viewpoint only it is here examined; no attempt is made to evaluate the ethnologic material. Further, both Kardiner and Linton claim that their manner of conceptualizing cultural data is an original methodological contribution. Linton particularly says, "Any one who reviews the literature must feel that the idea of basic personality structure was 'in the wind' sometime before Dr. Kardiner and I began our collaborations. However, so far as I can discover, the first concrete statement of the concept was that embodied in *The Individual and His Society*, published in 1939."⁵

I have pointed out elsewhere⁶ that the idea of group character is not new but was employed by Fromm as early as 1932.⁷ However, the specific formulation given the concept basic personality structure by Kardiner is the relevant issue here. Perhaps its clearest expression is that by Linton:

Basic personality structure . . . is a derivative of the psychological concept of personality and differs from the latter in that its delimitation is based upon a study of culture rather than upon that of the individual. Basic personality structure, as the term is used here, represents the constellation of personality characteristics which would appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions comprised within a given culture. It has been deduced from a study of culture content and organization and is, therefore, an abstraction of the same order as culture itself.⁸

Kardiner himself more tersely says "Basic personality . . . is merely the name for a diagnostic summary of the constellations existing in a given society."

The culture concept is Kardiner's starting point; first the culture trait generalizing items of behavior common to members of a group, then the culture pattern introducing the dynamic psychological relationship between personality and institutions. Then this psychologically underlaid culture

³University of Minnesota Press, 1945.

⁴Plainville, U. S. A., Columbia University Press, 1945.

⁵*The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, p. vii.

⁶See my "'Social Character' As a Sociological Concept", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 5, p. 521.

⁷Erich Fromm: *Ueber Methode und Aufgabe einer analytischen Sozial-Psychologie*, Zeitschrift fuer Sozial forschung, Jahrgang, 1932.

⁸*The Individual and His Society*, p. vi.

concept becomes the basis on which basic personality structure is established, built up by the members sharing in the culture through highly complicated series of integrative systems. Finally this basic personality structure concept "acquires an operational significance only when the formation of this basic personality structure can be tracked down to identifiable causes and if significant generalizations can be made concerning the relation between the formation of basic personality structure and the individual's specific potentialities for adaptation."⁹

For Kardiner the first proof of the fact that the concept of basic personality structure is "a dynamic instrument of sociological research" was offered by the observation that in any given culture "religious systems were replicas of the experiences of the child with parental disciplines." Kardiner gives the name "primary institutions" to those disciplines which produce in the child the basic constellations, while he calls "secondary institutions" those which develop as a result of the projective systems. Or, in less involved language, "primary institutions" (those governing the satisfaction of prime biological needs) form basic personality structure and this in turn recreates the secondary institutions of a society.

One new and important element is introduced into Kardiner's conceptual scheme which did not appear in his first elaboration of it, *projective systems*. Projective systems (characteristically identified by Kardiner with religion and folklore) are symbolic extensions of social behavior, an externalization of internal processes. And herein Kardiner finds a very important explanation of social change. The vigor of a projection system is maintained only as long as it represents a true projection of the basic practices of a society. When social practices change and social relations are redefined, the projective system also changes. Hence, a projective system may be used as an index of social development. In the final chapter of *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* Kardiner applies this technique to certain data in Jewish history, Christianity and the religion of ancient Egypt. Since this chapter is but an abstract of another entire book now in preparation, judgment on it must wait until the final version appears. But Kardiner has said that he believes the ultimate "proof" of his system lies in this effort.

Kardiner's conception of social stability and social change is largely and typically in terms of his own psychodynamic scheme. It involves the

⁹"The Concept of Basic Personality Structure As an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, p. 110.

types of adjustment of interpersonal tensions. There are two main ways of resolving such tensions, alterations within the individual (control, suppression, repression, hysteria, etc.); or alteration among the relations of individuals to each other (flight, combat, coercion, submission, etc.). For Kardiner it is self-evident that "a society within which intrasocial tensions are relieved by alterations within the individual has greater chances of survival and stability; those with forcible alterations, fewer chances of either." Cultures which channelize psychic expression with the least frustration to individuals are most stable.

Kardiner emphasizes more than once that his scheme is a methodology for sociology and effects a synthesis in the social sciences. Since this question is paramount for Kardiner it will claim the sole attention of the remainder of this paper. I cite the following as technical difficulties in his conceptual structure:

1. Exactly what constituents comprise basic personality structure? Kardiner is never specific or exhaustive. Linton is clearer; he says that the concept of basic personality structure rests on the following postulates:

1. That the individual's early experiences exert a lasting affect upon his personality, especially upon the development of his projective systems.

2. That similar experiences will tend to produce similar personality configurations in the individuals who are subjected to them.

3. That the techniques which the members of any society employ in the care and rearing of children are culturally patterned and will tend to be similar, although never identical, for various families within the society.

4. That the culturally patterned techniques for the care and rearing of children differ from one society to another.¹⁰

It would seem, then, that the constituents of basic personality structure fall in the category of childhood disciplines. That Kardiner is aware of his failure to carry this through adequately is indicated by his claim that one of the technical advances of his latest book over its predecessor is the attempt "to specify in greater detail the constituents of basic personality structure." Yet the advance is negligible. His ordering of a hierarchy of systems in the basic personality structure does not prove illuminating. He finally lists six categories of constituents: projective systems; learned systems; learned systems connected with drives; learned systems in which no drives are involved but ideas associated with activities; taboo systems; pure empirical reality systems; value systems and ideologies. From a taxonomic standpoint the classification appears faulty by its very heterogeneity,

and we are never sure just what experience may be regarded as an element in basic personality, either as to its source or its character.

2. Kardiner's treatment of institutions has scant clarity. I have pointed out in another connection¹¹ the sociological inadequacy of Kardiner's concept of institution, oriented toward biological "need" and grounded in the theoretical distinction between "primary" and "secondary". But the terms are never precise. In some cases he uses the expression of "primary institutions" to cover those "governing the satisfaction of prime biological needs"; in other cases, "those through which the child receives the experiences responsible for production of the basic constellations"; in still another instance, as "those which create the basic and inescapable problems of adaptation". Kardiner does not root his analysis of institutions in any sociological context, nor, in fact, does he ever refer to any of the vast literature pertaining to the question. And for all of his emphasis on dynamics, his scheme in certain crucial ways is not interactional at all—his secondary institutions apparently do not react back on basic personality structure. In fact, Kardiner's "primary institutions" never completely escape a tinge of biological "givenness", some lurking resemblance to the old Freudian instinct.

The fact that Kardiner makes much less methodological use of the concept of institutions than he did in his earlier volume may be evidence of his doubts about his own formulations. Indeed, he now admits some of the critical shortcomings of his scheme, and sees that "many institutions could not be classified as either primary or secondary".¹²

3. What permanence can we ascribe to basic personality? Has it remained the same throughout history, and is it therefore the equivalent of the old concept of "human nature", so that nothing has changed except social organization and types of cooperation compatible with a unitary basic personality? The question is Kardiner's,¹³ but again the answer is not clear-cut. In the interests of a logic of method confusion only is spread by Kardiner's straddle, "We can operate on the assumption that some features of basic personality have remained constant; some have changed; and that most adjustments of an intrasocial character, for organization and cooperation, have at least in part been determined by those features in

¹⁰*Psychological Frontiers*, p. vii.

¹¹*The Neo-Freudian Contribution to Social Theory*, M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1945.

¹²*Psychological Frontiers*, p. 25.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 414.

basic personality which have remained constant." Against this mumbo-jumbo may be placed another of his statements in the same book, "greater scientific knowledge brought with it great alterations in the basic personality of Western man."¹⁴ Thus all rigor of specification is lost.

4. What is the range of individual personality variation in different societies relative to their basic personality types? This time the question is Linton's but the answer is inconclusive. Kardiner admits that "basic personality only indicates a certain range and certain modalities within which great differences can arise." But there is no resolution of the problem. Such a formulation cannot claim methodological merit. What is the "certain range"? What are the "certain modalities"? What deviational spread constitutes "great differences"?

5. Kardiner's organizing principle is not, by his own admission, a conceptual tool for sociologists, nor, indeed, for even many psychologists. "In each instance", he says, "the derivation of basic personality was an exercise in psychopathology, and as the matter now stands, no one without an expert knowledge of psychodynamics can make any contribution to the technique."¹⁵ Presumably, then, sociologists must also become psychoanalysts for the full utilization of Kardiner's method. This is something different than what is ordinarily understood by "synthesis"; it is either omniscience or dilettantism.

6. Kardiner's scheme is not thoroughly adequate, he concedes, even in his own terms. "The moot question," he says, "is whether the technique takes in enough of the entire social process. My own opinion is that it does not and will not for a long time to come."¹⁶ The reason for this shortcoming, he declares, "is that only a few fundamentals have been conclusively and decisively established." Further, he raises the issue as to how applicable the method is for other than primitive societies. In his application of it to Plainville, he scarcely transcends the merely descriptive level.

7. Finally, the very designation "method" which Kardiner employs is misleading. What he calls his "method" of analysis lacks most of the significant criteria of scientific method—and, in fact, of any method at all. Instead of a technique, he has elaborated an organizing principle. His work is not the exposition of a procedure but of a conception. What he terms his "technique" cannot be tested by the criteria of precision, rela-

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. xvii.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. xviii.

bility and predictability—all hallmarks of scientific method. As to predictability (by general agreement one of the most significant tests of the fruitfulness of any theory), Kardiner actually says:

We cannot maintain that the prediction value of the concept of basic personality structure is its chief merit; we do not know the possibilities of early conditionings accurately enough to make predictions on a large scale. We may be able to do so when we have compared studies on about fifty cultures, and even then original and unique details are likely to surprise us.¹⁷

With whatever qualification this concession is contexted, it is a damaging admission. Yet it is amply justified throughout his work. Kardiner's interpretations of the three cultures under study appear plausible and meaningful, but they are simply possible explanations; they are not necessary ones arising from the material, dictated by the data.

This is what we are told is "synthesis" in the social sciences. By experience we well know that the unity-of-science slogan often stands for no more than eclecticism. Kardiner may pine after a "science of society", but for the sociologist who recalls the days of Spencer and Giddings, *et al.*, when his discipline was designated as the Study of Society (with two capital "S's"), Kardiner's approach appears not too promising. And for the methodologist in sociology the doubts raised initially are never dispelled throughout his work.

Kardiner assumes that sociology "needs" psychology. This assumption itself is never questioned and from it as a postulate perhaps stems the real difficulty. But curiously, Kardiner does not believe that all psychologies are of service to sociology.¹⁸ In fact, he excursions in the history of his own discipline to show the inadequacy for social theory of all psychologies except the Freudian. Hence, it would appear that the most he could claim is the integration not of psychology and sociology, but only of psychoanalysis and sociology.

The trouble with this sort of social science "synthesis" is its obliteration of the levels of conceptualization. Kardiner repeatedly insists that the individual is the proper unit of social study and that "the forces which create institutions must be identified in the individual". This is either mere

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁸The only psychology directly linked with sociology is one whose chief interest is the affective or emotional life of man, one which studies the genetic aspects of human adaptive tools and the relations which these have to the external forces encountered."—*The Individual and His Society*, p. 1.

platitude or a scramble of conceptual levels. In the former case it adds nothing for the methodology of the social sciences; in the latter case it becomes a logical fallacy. Much of the hodge-podge which passes under the name of "social psychology" could be dispensed with if only we would set our conceptualizations straight. Conceptual categories are formal and arbitrary; they do not reside in our data. There are logically, but no ontologically, *correct* conceptualizations. The term "psychology" conventionally is used when we conceptualize in terms of the individual; the term "sociology" when we conceptualize in terms of group behavior. The effort to superimpose one category on the other can arise only in a misconception of the nature of conceptual thought.

True integration or synthesis in the social sciences does not call for a merger, but a division of labor. Preservation of names is not important, but the various social sciences cannot be fertilized by throwing conceptual equipment into the hopper and calling it "synthesis". Sociology, at least, has nothing to gain by that procedure. Rather, may we expect the advancement of our discipline by increasing specialization, intensive cultivation of our own garden, so that out of the work and labors of many thousands over long time we may build our art into a science.

BOOK REVIEW

Cooperative Living in Palestine, Henrik Infield, Dryden Press, New York, 1944, \$2.50.

The study, of which this book is a report, was undertaken to test the practical usefulness of Leopold von Wiese's system of sociological observation and analysis, as the author knew it in its German guise. (It has been modified by the American sociologist, Howard Becker, who writes the Introduction for the book.) The Kvutzot of Palestine seemed to lend themselves particularly to such a test. The author's conclusion is that although the classification "proved to be a valuable heuristic tool", if he had followed only von Wiese's method, he "might have failed to consider other aspects of the Kvutza, some of them essential for a thorough understanding of its nature." Apparently also, after reading *Who Shall Survive*, he regretted not having had the opportunity to utilize sociometric techniques, at least as a check on the data gathered through personal observation, however objective that might be and however rigidly controlled by the behavioristic hypothesis. Anyone familiar with sociometry and with the more precise insight it affords into inter-personal situations, feels some dissatisfaction with the method pursued in this study, which places him, so to speak, at arms-length from the material, instead of intimately at the source of the motivations of the group. Had not the author infused his narrative with an ardent, though disciplined, enthusiasm for the Kvutzot and their way of life, the book would have been dry, not to say dreary, reading except for those who share the preconceptions about social reform or revolution which constitute the over-all frame of reference for the Kvutzist system of social relations. To such, the book must be a shining beacon, not to be coldly assayed, a demonstration of the validity of their dogmas, a "scientific", lucid, compact, well-organized story of what Henry Wallace, when Secretary of Agriculture, called "The Most Exciting Enterprise in the World."

Why the human beings whose way of life it is find the Kvutza admirable is made quite clear. It has enabled them to test a complex of ideals in practise and to escape from persecution and enforced degradation into economic security of a sort with companions of their own choosing. For the author, however, the Kvutzot have a higher significance. He takes the position that the Kvutza, as "one example of an experiment in 'communitarian' society formation, which has succeeded . . . has done more than prove that the form of its socio-economic organization is practicable. It has established the 'truth of a law' . . . in the same way as a single suc-

cessful experiment in the physical and chemical sciences. . . . (It) has demonstrated the practicability of the extreme form of comprehensive cooperation". One can only assume that the author meant to imply some such time reference as 'in our day', for human history is not devoid of examples of successful comprehensive cooperation, in antiquity, in primitive societies, in early Christian settlements and medieval associations. In the author's opinion, "many are inclined to this comprehensive cooperative way of life", and he himself, convinced that "The 'truth' of the Kvutza will be tested by its contribution to the solution of similar problems in cultural patterns other than the Palestinian", has associated himself with the Rural Settlement Institute, "founded to encourage the establishment of such groups", particularly among the millions of displaced Europeans and among tenant farmers and youth in the United States, whom he anticipates will find themselves in a precarious position of unemployment and poverty after this War.

It is more than a little bewildering for an American who does not share the Kvutzist conception of our social system as one of "malicious exploitation", and who, moreover, sees that the tendency of our culture is to multiply material goods and greatly to increase the freedom of the individual from complete and forced dependence upon any one set of local group-relationships for all his needs, material and spiritual, to find the Kvutza, inspiring illustration though it may be of the extraordinary courage and ingenuity of which men are capable when determined to conquer a harsh environment, thus raised unequivocally to the position of a scientifically validated pattern of social organization, universal application of which would be desirable. One's wonder grows then one reads the regulations under which the Kvutzists have elected to live and which, according to the author, explain its success. These may be briefly listed as: surrender of ownership of any private property whatsoever, including the clothes an individual wears, acceptance of a uniform style of dress, surrender of the right to have children without permission from the group, surrender of the right of free egress from, and return to, the settlement compound, agreement to turn over the care of one's children to the group from the day of birth, submission to rigid control of one's hours of work, meals, and recreation, and of the choice of recreations for which money expenditures are requisite, acceptance of living conditions which make personal privacy impossible. Some of these conditions are made necessary by the abolition of money as a means of exchange within the settlements and the receipt of all rewards for labor in kind, not in cash, which is one of the Kvutsan

"ideals" for a new social order; others are practical deductions from propositions which the Kvutists hold to be self-evident, on which their system of social relations is based; the last may be due to extreme poverty.

These regulations are voluntarily voted by every member of the group to apply equally to all and in so far as these particular human beings are concerned, the "democracy" and "equality" they represent apparently compensate for the rigidity and stereotyped character of social life in these settlements, which becomes apparent when one reads between the lines of this report. A wealth of taboos exists, conformity and obedience to the regulations are identified with righteousness, and a stern, inflexible attitude of sober, hardworking intensity is demanded of each individual. The attitude is epitomized in the saying, "From you to the group, the best you have, from the group to you, the least you can do with." Sympathy for non-conformists (wrong-doers, the author calls them) is relatively short-lived; deviants are "dutifully" tolerated until brought into line, but if recalcitrant, they are sent to Coventry. As a rule, such rejects voluntarily resign. Only the very obtuse have to be expelled. Thus is uniformity attained and preserved. As a reaction to this rigidity, and a proof that it is felt severely by the members of the settlement, the Kvutists have half-ironically coined the slogan "Freedom to the Individual"; but, adds the author regretfully, "it is impossible to impose it as a group practise."

These settlements hold interest for a variety of reasons. The conservationists are awed by the miracle of rehabilitation of eroded land which these colonists have performed; the humanitarian philanthropists (who have provided all the capital for these enterprises and much of the cost of maintenance in the initial period as well) applaud the attainment of a stable society by nearly 10,000 helpless, homeless, refugees from the ghettos of Europe; Marxian Socialists of the gradualist school rejoice in the seeds of socialism which the Kvutzot are planting in the capitalist world, thus hastening the coming of a universal world-order founded on social justice; the Jews who are Zionists are proud of these settlements for their members are reclaiming "the Land of the Fathers", proving that Jews are as productive as anyone else, and laying the basis for a National home and Jewish State. Sociologists, however, are not emotionally impelled to award admiration to the Kvutzot for their achievements. They are obligated to appraise their structure and function in relation to their effect on the development of human personality and culture. To this effort, sociometrists contribute a specific point of view.

Careful scrutiny of the report is required to gather any data for criti-

cism of its material from this point of view, because the frame of reference within which the study was conducted did not require that attention be paid to the factors which sociometrists regard as of cardinal importance in the development of human personality and culture: the culture conserve and spontaneity. From what was said above regarding the rigidity of social life in the Kvutza, it is evident that this society awards the predominant position in its social system to the culture conserve and accords a consequently inferior value or status to spontaneity.

That the culture conserve should be dominant is not surprising, because the whole enterprise is a re-activation of a culture conserve—the age-old dream of the Jews for a national home. Moreover, those who respond to the call “felt themselves to be the messengers of the will of their people toward moral rehabilitation”—which, again, is a conserve. Furthermore, these pioneers emigrated from Europe largely because they had fanatically espoused certain *a priori* ideals, drawn from Marxism, the German Youth Movement (which long preceded nazism), and revolutionary reactions against the conditions under which they had been forced to live. To them, the Kvutza became an instrumentality by means of which these ideals could be achieved. Therefore, aside from the demands which the natural environment made upon them and to which they were forced to adjust creatively, all their other social arrangements were devices deduced from their ideals, transformed into principles. Such a system gives small leeway to spontaneity. The author remarks that “after having stabilized its social system, the Kvutza now devotes itself to experimentation with methods and techniques of farm management.” This is the area, apparently, in which spontaneity is encouraged.

Evidently these communities, unlike primitive ones in which a vital religion is part of the social system, have not developed any indigenous recreational forms. The author remarks that in the cases where the Kvutza have their own dramatics, “the productions are usually on the low level of persiflage and lampoons.” A type of psychodrama has been introduced, but it is rigidly controlled, parts being assigned beforehand and the theme restricted to a trial in which the group “mirrors and measures its achievement and failings.” Such an event takes place no oftener than annually or biennially, so even within its restrictions it offers no opportunity for spontaneity *practise*. In fact, the author remarks several times that without external aids—lecturers, concert artists, etc.,—“the cultural life of the Kvutzot would stagnate.” His comment regarding the effect of Kvutza life on the children is also significant: “They do not favor speculative thought

... but they ... learn to work hard and accept life." (Note that the word is not *enjoy!*) The few holidays permitted the toiling members of the Kvutzot are spent in a stereotyped way, not different from those of Socialists the world 'round: marching in a parade, listening to speeches and singing working-class songs. In fact, one cannot avoid the impression that the stereotype rules the recreational life of the Kvutsists, with the possible exception of the continuous debates and discussions which are a prevailing feature of their life. But even there the expression of heterodox opinions is frowned upon and likely to lead to suspicions of an individual's loyalty and devotion to the group. The subject matter seems to revolve around interpretations of principles and doctrine when not concerned with policy decisions affecting the group, and apparently in such discussions there is no search for a "creative synthesis of differences", as Mary Follett calls it, but a struggle for dominance of one opinion over another.

Anyone to whom these facts are important would be extremely reserved in his support of the author's recommendation that this pattern warrants wide reproduction, nor could he advocate its use as a genuine solution for the social problems it purports to solve. It has left out of account the fostering of the factor in human nature which makes possible continuous creativity. Unfortunately, a good many reformers, publicists, and propagandists today are content with a solution—always to be applied to *other* people—which offers economic security at the price of restriction on spontaneity. This is unimaginative and short-sighted, for as Dr. Moreno remarks in *Who Shall Survive*, "Man can fight back at the industrial process as a biological being and as a creator, or as an association of creators ... through a strategy of creation which escapes the treachery of conservatism and the competition of the robot." To the reviewer, the Kvutza does not appear to be an example of that strategy.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Symposium on Group Psychotherapy, Sociometry, Volume 8, Numbers 3 and 4

The symposium will present papers on development of group psychotherapy, sociometric foundations of group psychotherapy, psychodrama and group psychotherapy, group psychotherapy as a prophylaxis, and as a rehabilitation technique for the military, the use of puppetry, music and of motion pictures.

American Sociological Society, 1945

The following members have consented to act as Chairmen of the Sections for the 1945 meetings: Social Research—Raymond V. Bowers; Social Theory—Talcott Parsons; Social Psychology—Clifford Kirkpatrick; Population—Irene Taeuber; Sociometry—Robert K. Merton; Community and Ecology—Charles Loomis; Family—Ray E. Baber; Criminology—Donald R. Taft; Political Sociology—Sigmund Neumann; Educational Sociology—Lloyd Allen Cook; Contributed Papers—Katharine Jocher.

American Journal of Sociology

The oldest sociology periodical in the world has brought out a special Anniversary Issue commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Special features are articles by: Ernest W. Burgess on "Sociological Research Methods"; George A. Lundberg, "The Growth of Scientific Method"; and Florian Znaniecki, "Controversies in Doctrine and Method."

Psychodramatic Unit, Fitzsimmons General Hospital, Denver, Colorado

Under the direction of Major Lewis Barbato a psychodramatic unit is in development for the treatment of neuropsychiatric casualties of this war.

Psychodramatic Unit, Pasadena Playhouse

Under the direction of Mrs. Bess A. Garner, formerly with St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C., a psychodramatic training course is being planned for fall, 1945. Dr. George N. Thompson, Chief, Neuropsychiatric Division, Los Angeles County General Hospital, Dr. Theodore R. Sarbin of Los Angeles and Dr. J. L. Moreno have consented to serve as advisors to the project.

Psychodramatic Institute, Los Angeles

A new Psychodramatic Institute, at 727 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, with Dr. T. Sarbin as Executive Director, is in formation, organized after the pattern of the New York Psychodramatic Institute.

*Stanford University, Psychodramatic Seminar,
Winter Term, 1945-46*

Beginning in September, Dr. Helen H. Jennings will conduct, as part of the regular courses at Stanford University, a psychodramatic seminar with demonstrations for graduate students in psychology and education. The course will carry from 3 to 5 credits.

Denver University, Psychodrama Unit

The Psychodramatic Institute at Denver University ended on July 20th, 1945. Plans are under consideration for a permanent course on psychodrama to be incorporated in the School of Speech.

Psychodramatic Training of Foremen in Industry

Under the direction of Dr. John R. P. French role playing methods are used at the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation in Marion, Virginia, for the training of foremen.

Psychodramatic Training of Employees

Under the direction of Mr. John H. Jacobs a psychodramatic course is being given for the training of sales and restaurant personnel at O. P. Baur Confectionery Co., in Denver, Colorado.

AMERICAN SOCIOMETRIC ASSOCIATION

NEWS AND NOTES

Incorporation of the A.S.A.

Meetings have been held with Ralph B. Spence, Lawrence K. Frank and Maria Rogers to prepare the steps for the incorporation of the Association. Plans are made for securing a charter from the Department of Education at Albany, N. Y.

New Applications for Membership

Two hundred and thirty-nine new applications for membership have been received. Their names are listed in Vol. VIII, No. 2. New members cannot be admitted to the Association until the criteria for admission are finally determined by the charter members. The applicants have the temporary status of student members.

Research Projects of A.S.A. Members

The list of research projects is submitted herewith to all members of the A.S.A. It is a sociometric poll of the word-space allotted to members.

Analysis of Research Topics

The Association has at present 105 charter members and 239 new applicants for membership. Pending the adoption of the by-laws and incorporation of the society only the charter members will be asked to participate in the research project test. By participation alone can this experiment be made a full success. Sixty per cent of the members have sent in research topics and will be entitled to a space of 300 words in the first volume of researches to be published as a separate issue of *Sociometry*. The members who have not undertaken projects of their own can assign their space to the project which they find most interesting. Therefore, all members, regardless of whether they have sent in projects or not, should take part in this choice process.

Every member is urged to send in his decision by return mail so that distribution of the word space per project can be announced. We hope to report the results of the choice process to the members by September 30th.

The editorial board of *Sociometry* has invited Dr. Ralph B. Spence and Maria Rogers to undertake the editing and arranging of the separate issue of *Sociometry* which will contain all the articles received by January 1st, 1946. We plan to release the first issue of contributions by March, 1946.

TO MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOMETRIC ASSOCIATION
SOCIOMETRIC BALLOT OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

Technique of Participation

Every member is to contribute an annual paper on a research project in progress. The journal *Sociometry* has agreed to reserve for every member the space of 300 words. These projects will be published in *Sociometry* or in special issues thereof. All members are invited to send in the problem area of their research which will be listed regularly in current issues of *Sociometry*. Such members who do not have any project in mind, may assign their printing space to another member whose topic they favor. This will be carried out like a sociometric test, certain focal topics and focal members may receive the major share of space from the members. The space which these most chosen researchers will receive will be in proportion to the quantity of choice received.

Check your choice. Underline name of member, yourself or another (and your or his topic) to whom you would like to assign your 300 words.

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
Read Bain		1. Labor-Capital 2. Crime 3. Race 4. Education
Raymond E. Bassett	1. Stouffer's law β'_s and as measures of intergroup contacts 2. Stouffer's law β'_s and as measures of intragroup contacts	Techniques reducing group rejections of: 1. Outgroup members, symbolically characterized, e.g. Negroes, union men 2. Strangers 3. Isolates within the group
Merl E. Bonney	1. Study of factors related to friendships among college students 2. Construction of a scale for measuring capacity to win friends	1. Long-time follow-up study of personality traits essential to marriage success
Urie Bronfenbrenner	1. Diagnosis and therapy for hard-of-hearing soldiers	1. Breaking down isolation of sociometry from general psychology 2. Ridding sociometry and psychodrama of cult characteristics

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
Muriel W. Brown	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Training of college teachers of family relations in home economics departments 2. Community organization for family life education 3. Cooperative development of programs of family life education in schools and colleges 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Study of inter-relationships between federal, state and local government to further their cooperation 2. Study of inter-action among members of inter-agency, governmental committees for dealing with problems cutting across jurisdictional lines 3. Study of personal drives of chiefs of sections, influencing relationships with subordinates
John Collier	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Hopi Crisis, "An Exploration in Basic Social Theory," in collaboration with Laura Thompson 	
Paul Cornyetz	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Research on sociodramatic methods and theory of group therapy 2. Research on other group therapy methods 3. Research on integration of sociodramatic with other methods 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Integration of various sociological methods used today, with sociometry
Carolyn R. Craddock		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Longitudinal statistical study of participants in psychodrama from the point of view of differential diagnosis 2. Classification of their reactions 3. Psychodrama used as a means of diagnosis, checking on the findings of point 1 after six months
Joan H. Criswell	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analysis of Sociometric Statistical Methods 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometric factors in the morale of clerical employees 2. Methods of reducing race cleavages in factory work groups 3. Correlation between ratings on measures of leadership

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
		ability and social status, measured by sociometric test
Lewis A. Dexter	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Planning of a group of community studies 2. Participation in planning a group of studies of population growth and attitudes towards family 3. Study of suicide and attempted suicide in Puerto Rico 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analysis of contributions of sociometry to administrative analysis 2. Development of sociometric techniques for utilization in planning (see my study 2) 3. Study of "happiness" in relation to social position, sociometric starrng, rejection, etc.
Ernest Dichter	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commodities as expressions of personality 2. Radio as a form of psychodrama 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometric analysis of occupations
Wladimir Eliasberg	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dynamics of political propaganda 2. Psychology of the audience 3. Dynamics of the therapeutic group 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Employer - employee relationships 2. Stage drama and psychodrama 3. Group psychotherapy and social welfare
Paul R. Farnsworth	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stereotypes of musical eminence 2. What an attitude continuum means to the rater 	
L. K. Frank		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Group therapy for veterans, especially those <i>not</i> NP cases 2. Group therapy for children who have lost fathers in the war 3. Group therapy for use by teachers in school
John R. P. French, Jr.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Role playing as a method of training foremen 2. Group methods of handling grievances 3. The sociometric structure of a factory department 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the relationships among different types of measures of group structure, e.g. sociogram, official institutional lines of authority, actual power relations, etc.?
Bess A. Garner	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Psychodrama in U. S. Army hospital 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Psychodramatic and other group therapy for service casualties

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
		2. Psychodramatic and other group therapy for delinquent or predelinquent children
		3. Psychodramatic and other group therapy for the family problems of discharges
Margaret Hagan	1. Psychodramatic training of Red Cross workers	
Charles E. Hendry	1. Projects involving sociometric and sociodramatic techniques	
Frances Herriott	1. Rehabilitation of the military via Psychodrama	
Phoebe Honig	1. Psychodrama and the Stutterer 2. Psychodrama and speech clinic cases 3. The personality of the speech handicapped	1. Rehabilitation of the so-called "psychoneurotic" service men 2. Adjustment of stutterer to his difficulty 3. Rehabilitation of the speech handicapped
Charles E. Howell	1. Stratification on a college campus 2. Community group structures 3. A framework of status development on a college campus	1. Bases of minority group prejudices
Gustav Ichheiser	1. Reaction of Negro college students to overt and covert forms of discrimination 2. The function of visibility in social relations	1. Ideological background of estrangement in inter-personal relations 2. Interdependence between "images" and "attitudes" in inter-personal and inter-group relations
Ruth A. Inglis		1. Basic research in social inter-action 2. The role of communication in group life 3. Release of psychological tension in socially harmless ways
Helen H. Jennings	1. Project for research on "social psychological rehabilitation of physically handicapped"	1. Psychodramatic training in leadership roles in adult education groups 2. Control study of effect of psychodramatic training in

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
		leadership roles, upon sociometric position in group structure
		3. Experimental study of individual differences in ability to carry auxiliary ego roles in psychodrama
Virginia Jennings	1. Group play-writing 2. Psychological vocational preparation by psychodrama for critical situations likely to be met 3. Activities for inter-action and co-experience of people in varying vocations	1. Raising level of mental health in the community by increasing opportunities for friendship and participation in creative activities 2. Study frustration of personality needs in certain vocations and finding solutions to this problem 3. Providing training in democratic leadership and techniques for influencing human behavior through psychodrama and interesting teachers, foremen and executives in such training
Clyde Kluckhohn	1. Group structure of a Navaho Indian community 2. Constants and variable in the socialization process among Navaho Indians	1. Clear delimitation between social structure and cultural pattern—e.g. the effect of the size of groups upon personality formation—independent of varying cultural traditions
Stephen Leeman	1. Determining criteria for congeniality and developing procedures for predicting congeniality among participants in group living projects; comparison between prediction and results 2. Criteria and procedures for determining extent of cooperative attitudes which may be expected from participants in intentional community projects 3. Development of techniques and disciplines to achieve	1. Techniques and disciplines for development of cooperative attitudes in societal relationships 2. Experimental studies comparing performance of those motivated by individual aspirations with those motivated by group aspirations 3. Experiments to test validity of findings within small-scale intentional communities in solution of large-scale social problems

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
	group integration in intentional community projects	
Edwin M. Lemert	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Values of symptom therapy—as opposed to conventional psychiatric emphasis on attitudes 2. Ecological study of mental disease in Michigan 3. Vicious cycles as factors in family incidence of mental disease 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analysis of effects of hospitalization (mental) on normal as well as abnormal personality 2. Study of “natural” or untreated cures or remissions of mental disease—probably from a community viewpoint
Albert J. Levine	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Application of sociometric techniques to the treatment of problem children 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rehabilitation of mentally handicapped service men
Ronald Lippitt	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizing local citizen groups to sponsor research self-evaluation of own community 2. Film interpretation of family life, having entertainment and self-awareness value for whole family 3. A manual on social psychology in training of leaders 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The place of sociodrama in fostering community self-awareness 2. Sociometry diagnosis of community readiness for social change in specified directions 3. Development of sociometric roles and psychological realities of “role expectation” as social control of behavior
George A. Lundberg	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cliques in a college student body 2. Sociometric techniques in market research 3. Restudy of attraction patterns in a village after eight years 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Labor - management tensions 2. Sociometry of social recreation 3. Minority-majority relations
Benjamin H. Lyndon		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Techniques for treatment of severe combat neuroses 2. Group techniques applicable to reconditioning non-NP “casualties”
Margaret H. Mead	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Translation of concepts of intercultural tolerance action into foreign languages 2. Translation of inter-cultural ideals into social procedures 3. Procedures for incorporation of knowledge of child devel- 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Group therapy for readjusting war returnees 2. Methods enabling people of same calibre operating at local, state and national levels, to function together 3. Behavioral basis of Ameri-

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
	opment into stories and moving pictures	can attitude towards Russia
Joseph I. Meiers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Group therapeutic work in a psychiatric hospital, a) spontaneous work by patients, b) discussion groups between doctor and patients 2. Writing a survey on history of group therapy 3. Therapeutic-economic consideration of psychodrama 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Investigation how a school for psychodramatic directors could be instituted to derive a personal and methodologic tradition of J. L. Moreno's work and principles
Joseph Mersand	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An educational program for NP patients 2. Re-education of returning veterans 3. Education of civilians to receive returning veterans 	Same
Florence B. Moreno	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Role studies with children 2. The role diagram supplementing the sociogram in the representation of inter-personal relations 3. A textbook on psychodrama for college students 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometry applied to ethnically mixed European villages
J. L. Moreno	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Major categories of social situations as evidenced by psychodramatic research 2. Major categories of role relations as evidenced by psychodramatic research 3. The process of role playing and the factor of spontaneity 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Psychodramatic methods in primitive societies 2. Televised use of psychodrama 3. Measurement of spontaneity
Samuel D. Morford	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometric research 	
Jack Morrison	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Audience reaction 2. Group approach in educational theatre 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development of sound sociometric basis for organizing national professional organizations which also allow for regional autonomy
Gardner Murphy		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. International sociometric study of individual choices of American, Chinese, Soviet Red Cross workers, relief administrators, etc. 2. Group work study of German children

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
Elwood Murray	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometry in the teaching of public speaking 2. Possible relationships of psychodrama and semantics in clearing blockages in basic communications skills 3. Sociometry in industrial relations 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Projective study by group psychotherapists of Chinese and Japanese children's attitudes to occidentals 1. Sociometry in speech education 2. The relationships of sociometry to general semantics 3. Psychodrama procedures in remedying stage fright in speech situations
Mary L. Northway	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Study of the social relations of children at an orphanage and consideration of factors associated with their social status 2. Study of teachers and children's attitudes to and opinions about "neglectees"—isolates 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Continuation of Bronfenbrenner's work on clarifying statistical measures involved in sociometry
Katharine Pease		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vocational rehabilitation of returning veterans 2. Family problems of returning veterans 3. Individual adjustment of individuals at home to maimed veterans
Louise Price	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Self consciousness, in collaboration with Wilhelmina Jacobson 2. Grooming, with Wilhelmina Jacobson 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Readjustment of servicemen's and women's attitudes to civilian attitudes
Maria Rogers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Study of the application of sociometric data to organization of adult education enterprises 2. Stimulation of interest in sociometric data among adult educators and social workers 3. Writing a book coordinating information regarding dynamic relation between face-to-face groups and social or 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Experimentation in community development, utilizing face-to-face groups as the unit of organization 2. Study of way of avoiding stereotyping of activities in federations of face-to-face groups 3. Study of the social networks in New York City

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
	community activities in American life	
Theodore R. Sarbin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Role-taking among motion picture actors 2. Reactions to stress 3. Helping the veteran resume his civilian status 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Veteran's return to civilian status 2. Role of family in rehabilitation of veterans 3. Retraining autocratic (nazi) youth
Bertha Schauer		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Therapeutic agents 2. Psychodrama in family relations 3. Living newspaper as a psychodramatic technique in a mental hospital, a hub for integrating spontaneity of the mentally ill
Gerhard Schauer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mental patients as therapeutic agents 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometric study of the "social status" of patients in a hospital community 2. Sociometry and German rehabilitation 3. Paranoid group attitudes and sociometry
Clarence Schrag	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social cleavages and differential attitudes in a prison community 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development of tools for measuring attraction-repulsion patterns 2. Description of formation of groups and membership changes 3. Development of techniques for altering roles of members of groups
Nahum E. Shoobs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Psychodrama in the schools as personality training 2. Sociometry in the schools as personality training 3. Psychodrama, its influence on teaching school subjects 4. Sociometry, its influence on pupil learning 	
Bruno Solby	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Psychodrama as an approach to industrial psychiatry 	
Harry M. Shulman	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Factors in social cleavage among college students, with Gerhard Saenger 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sociometric structure of a tension area, racial, nationality, religious, as contrast-

Maph

Ralph

Frank

Zerka

Mary

Milton

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
	2. Completion of manuscript on an experiment in the use of controlled activity groups for treatment of problem school boys	ed with one having similar ethnic and cultural groups but no tensions
Mapheus Smith	1. Analysis of data on similarity of marriage partners in intelligence and physical attributes 2. Analysis of data on increase in homogeneity of attitudes during a sociology course	1. Techniques of adjustment of people to each other 2. Factors responsible for isolated personalities 3. Methods of overcoming tendency of isolates toward isolation
Ralph B. Spence	1. Community leadership 2. Representative councils 3. Preventing delinquency	1. Intergroup relations 2. Community leadership 3. Representativeness
Frank A. Stewart	1. Adult leadership - fellowship patterns 2. Socio-economic characteristics of adult leaders 3. Sex differences in leadership choices	1. Adult sociometric configurations 2. What are the adult influence channels described socio-economically as well as sociometrically
Zerka Toeman	1. Longitudinal study on prediction of marriage success by psychodramatic and interview methods, comparing overlapping and degree of accuracy 2. Psychodramatic re-enactment of dreams, with the aid of auxiliary egos and puppets 3. Experiences of auxiliary ego in working with subjects on psychodrama stage, when using double-ego and mirror techniques	1. Use of the Moreno test in re-organization and re-education of German youth groups 2. Sociodrama as a tool for reducing inter-racial and inter-cultural strife 3. Sociometric study of in-group rivalries
Mary B. Treudley	1. Upward mobility among Italian-Americans 2. Effects of mental illness upon families of patients 3. Modification of the Chapple-Arensberg-Whyte method of analyzing group structure	
Milton H. Ward	1. Passive and Active Music Psychotherapy 2. Emotional projection in our present day society	1. Sociometric prerequisites of maximum spontaneity factor in groups 2. Can sociotherapeutic tech-

NAME	OWN PROJECTS	IMPORTANT OTHER PROJECTS
	3. Primitive forms of inter-personal communication	niques achieve mass popularity?
Anita Uhl		3. Sociometric study of socio-economic groups
		1. Broaden the contact constellation of sociometry
		2. What is the trend of group psychotherapists and how practiced?
		3. More detailed case histories with follow up in psychodrama
Alvin F. Zander	1. Use of psychodrama in leadership training of petty officers	1. Are sociometric methods better than own - group formation by chance in forming efficient sub-groups?
	2. Group sessions with "restricted" men	2. Can a well-adjusted group of lay people change the behavior of a community nuisance?
		3. When does role-expectation pressure on a given person outweigh the pressure that one person can exert on the group?
Leona M. Kerstetter	1. Sociometric testing in a social agency	
	2. Sociometric testing of a college class	
	3. Spontaneity tests for teenagers	
Herbert A. Toops	1. Addenda for analysis and synthesis of social composition	1. Standardization of persons acceptable for experimentation
	2. Collection of motivational specifics	2. Effects on individuals of traits of others becoming a fixed social relationship to individual in question
	3. Statistical correlates of taxonomy	

Only members with topics listed can be chosen. Members who did *not* send in their own list of research projects, although they cannot be chosen themselves, should make use of their account of 300 words by assigning them to some member's topic, otherwise they will be forfeited. Members may assign their word space to their *own* topic if, after perusing the list, they feel this to be the most important one, and thus

secure the minimum of 300 words for themselves. *Do not choose a topic alone, without indicating the name of the member connected with it.*

Mail your completed ballot of research projects to: American Sociometric Association, Beacon, N. Y., latest by September 15th, 1945.

J. L. MORENO
President

HELEN H. JENNINGS
Secretary

NEW APPLICANTS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN SOCIOMETRIC ASSOCIATION

Listed in the order of their application

Jacob Zuckerman	Dorothy Mathers	Cyril Konjus
Wilma Lange	Ann E. Dinegar	Gladys Traynor
Grace O'Connor	Eleanore B. Mahler	Hazel C. Shoobs
John Brady	Norma Jackson	Anita Gabow
Thomas B. Baker	Ena Roberts	Shirley Lilienthal
Sylvia Rosenstock	R. E. Roberts	Elaine Loew
William A. Rogers	Lillian Wald Kay	Agnes Sailer
Milton Wilkow	Mary Macduff	Shirley Wolinsky
F. W. Henssler	Lottie Iler	Henriette Migden
Ellen Auerbach	Hilda Lang	Betty Friedman
E. A. Lee	Sam Springe	B. Freeman
June Gash	Leonard Freedman	T. Schwartz
Louise Aggiman	Ruth Goldstein	A. I. Schwartz
E. Aggiman	Kathleen C. Price	Miriam Liedz
Helen Scherer	Marion Tanner	Beverly Smith
A. H. Sugarman	Anne Abarbanell	Murray Gunner
Zelda Feinman	A. S. Lewis	Anna Bingham
Edith Bernstein	M. D. Cleveland	Edna Sprunt
Gladys Palmer	Barbara Bellow	J. B. Petty
Corinne Grimsley	Mary E. Bowman	Joy Swernov
Rena Matson	Helen Klein	Garda Bowman
LeRoy Bowman	B. Mildred Sobel	Alex Greenberg
Charles Ansell	Minnie Abarbanell	Pauline Lazarus
Mrs. Charles Ansell	Jean Gabriel	Eileen Delaney
S. Ross	Pearl Schneebok	E. Rice
Mrs. S. Ross	L. Pocehiari	Irving Reiser
R. L. R. Kabomey	H. Loebowitz Lennard	Jerry Bloomfield
V. Schaffer	Nancy Grasby	Elsie Sult
Helen L. Bass	Aaron Lutwak	Eloise S. Miller
Wm. Kolodney	Margot Haas	Ina Reynolds
Edith Wiener	Sonia Kay Williams	J. Glaser
Maurice J. Shore	Iljana Schreiber	P. Gutman
Rose Blanchard	Patricia Monroe	June Leslie
Rosemary Spiro	Robert C. Monroe	Evelyn Fider
Meyer Bass	N. Freyer	Gus Schoen
Matthew Elson	Jeanne Finkelstein	Wayne A. Sarcha
L. Ferber	Esther Weissman	Sally Satz
Zelda Dorfman	H. Abrams	Murray Schaffer
Myron Blanchard	E. Pearlstein	M. Norman Wortzel
M. Gerstein	P. R. Silver	Beatrice Schwartz
Irving Wanner	Ned Young	Blossom Abarbanell
G. Randolph	Felice Shaw	R. Margolin
D. Gardner	J. Stuhler	S. Glagov
Helen Walters	M. Dorothy Fisher	Audrey Bertsch

Betsy Altun	G. B. Turner	E. Feigelman
Samuel Ritvo	Edna Haber	Ellen Hess
Lucille B. Ritvo	Joan Cowan	Michael Fain
Florence Richards	Virginia T. Smith	Charles Schartz
Esther Small	Mary P. Fleming	Sarah Seltzer
Rose Lillian Vidlak	Margaret Ballentine	Morris Lessero
Doris Krause	Mac Queen	Jay Katz
Bernice Lubka	Evelyn Baker	L. Frank
Anita Chassen	Phyllis Kutcher	Sam Winer
A. Chassen	Claire Friedman	N. A. Singer
Florence M. Rosenblum	Elizabeth R. Taylor	Otto Dezi
Alfred Salomon	Demaris V. Taylor	O. Rickers
Wendy Davis	Jack Rosenberg	A. W. Lubka
Rosalind Rabinowitz	Janice Commanday	E. Kaufman
Jean Goldsand	S. Rosenbloom	Michael Yatsko
M. Lange	Lester Berman	Lilli Seligsohn
Shirley Harris	S. Davidson	Goldie Ivener
E. Verschleiser	Neva Wright	Carolyn Tataum
Norman Washington	Herbert L. Singer	Esta Carini
Paul T. Shelby	K. Wolfson	Gertrude Daniel
Edith New	Sonya Erickson	M. C. Irion
Jane Waters	Mary Hickin	Sadie Hatfield
Margaret L. Leonard	Maureen Canniban	Annie G. Dix
Lillian Gottlieb	E. O'Connell	Allis G. Stamm
Barbara Baron	Lisa D'Azevedo	Mildred Dunn
Mollie Reiss	H. R. Nayer	H. A. Gerard
A. D. Ozunlo	Stella H. Oaks	Burton J. Brimberg
Dr. B. Lubka	Fern Shipley	K. Davis
Jane Jacobs	Muriel Brusie	Carol Cooper
Robert H. Jacobs	Theodora Rhoades	Bertha Douglas
Ada A. Towne	Murray Safior	Walter Howes
R. K. Marks	Mary L. Rhoads	Francine Lichtman
Bea Horn	Edwin Shapiro	Irene Pierce
Doris Moss	Evelyn Khodash	B. Comparte
Zelda Goodman	Dorothy I. Post	Jean Messinger
C. M. Cosman	Evelyn M. Waters	

CHARTER MEMBERS NOT PREVIOUSLY LISTED

Gustav Ichheiser	Albert J. Levine
Talladega College, Alabama	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Virginia Jennings	Milton Rose
U. S. Veterans Hospital, Lyons, N. J.	Stanford University, California
	Ralph K. White
	Stanford University, California

Charter Members	105
Student Members	239
Total	344

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PSYCHODRAMA

IN THREE VOLUMES

By

J. L. MORENO

The three volumes contain the most complete presentation of psychodramatic theory and practice to date. They tell the story of psychodrama from its beginning in the gardens of Vienna in 1910 up to the Theatre of Psychodrama at Beacon, New York City and St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C. Besides papers previously published they contain a large number of papers yet unpublished, untranslated or out of print. The first volume concentrates on psychodrama in its psychological, educational, anthropological and sociological aspects, with an introduction into spontaneity theory. The second volume concentrates on psychodrama in its relation to psychopathology and psychiatry with an introduction into the meaning of group catharsis and group psychotherapy. The third volume is a complete psychodramatic protocol of a typical marriage situation.

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VOLUME I

Principles

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Principles of Creativity

Axioms of Spontaneity

Forerunners: Charles Saunders Peirce and Henri Bergson

Spontaneity Theory of Child Development

Spontaneity Theory and the Conservation of Energy

Spontaneity Theory and Psychological Determinism

Spontaneity and Measurement

The Warming Up Process in Psychodrama

Spontaneity and the Cultural Conserve

Spontaneity Test

Spontaneity Testing in Standard Life Situations

Spontaneity Test As a Diagnostic Method

Spontaneity Training

Psychodramatic Contribution to the Selection and Training
of Leaders

Experimental Psychodrama

Psychodrama and Projection Techniques

The Function of the Psychodramatic Director

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